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**ANNUAL REPORT**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**  
**FOR**  
**THE YEAR 1919**  
**IN TWO VOLUMES**  
**AND A SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME**  
**VOL. I**



**WASHINGTON**  
**GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE**  
**1923**

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## LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
*Washington, D. C., December 14, 1920.*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1919. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*



## ACT OF INCORPORATION.

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*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding \$500,000, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]





## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,  
*Washington, D. C., September 28, 1920.*

SIR: We have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided by law, the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1919. This report includes the proceedings of the association for the thirty-fourth annual meeting at Cleveland on December 29-31, 1919, and the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at its fifteenth annual meeting held in San Francisco, Calif., on November 28-29, 1919. There is also transmitted as Volume II of this report the fifteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission containing the first installment of the Stephen B. Austin papers concerning the affairs relating to Texas and the Southwest.

Very respectfully yours,

H. BARRETT LEARNED,  
*Chairman of the Committee on Publications.*  
ALLEN R. BOYD, *Editor.*

To the SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
*Washington, D. C.*



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## SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME.

Writings on American history, 1919, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin.



# CONSTITUTION.

---

## I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

## II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

## III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

## IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the executive council. They shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the council may determine.

## V.

There shall be an executive council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents; but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

## VI.

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

## VII.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

## BY-LAWS.

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### I.

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

### II.

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine, it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association, as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide under each office a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

### III.

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in By-law II.

### IV.

The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

The council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the association's business.

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress,  
January 4, 1889.

---

### OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 30, 1919.

#### PRESIDENT :

EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

#### VICE PRESIDENTS :

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, F. B. A.,  
*French Embassy.*

CHARLES H. HASKINS, PH. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

#### SECRETARY :

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH. D.,  
*Smith College.*

#### TREASURER :

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D.,  
*Library of Congress.*

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)  
(Ex-presidents.)

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*Boston, Mass.*

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,  
*University of Pennsylvania.*

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,  
*New Haven, Conn.*

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Carnegie Institution of Washington.*

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,  
*Yale University.*



## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D.,  
*University of Chicago.*

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Cornell University.*

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,  
*Massachusetts Historical Society.*

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D.,  
*Cambridge.*

(Elected Councillors.)

HENRY E. BOURNE, L. H. D.,  
*Western Reserve University.*

GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., F. R. S. C.,  
*University of Toronto.*

HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D.,  
*University of California.*

WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D.,  
*University of Chicago.*

WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D.,  
*Vanderbilt University.*

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D.,  
*University of Pennsylvania.*

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

RUTH PUTNAM, B. LITT.,  
*Washington.*

## PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

---

### OFFICERS ELECTED NOVEMBER 29, 1919.

#### PRESIDENT:

LEVI E. YOUNG, B. S., A. M.,  
*University of Utah.*

#### VICE PRESIDENT:

ROBERT GLASS CLELAND, A. B.,  
*Occidental College.*

#### SECRETARY-TREASURER:

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, JR., PH. D.,  
*University of California.*

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

ROSCOE L. ASHLEY,  
*Pasadena High School.*

ARTHUR M. CLEGHORN,  
*Lowell High School, San Francisco.*

EDGAR E. ROBINSON, M. A.,  
*Stanford University.*

WILLIAM J. TRIMBLE, PH. D.,  
*University of Idaho.*



## TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †.)

---

### EX-PRESIDENTS.

- †ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.  
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.  
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.  
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.  
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.  
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.  
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.  
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.  
†HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.  
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.  
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.  
†JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.  
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.  
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.  
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.  
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.  
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.  
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.  
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.  
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.  
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.  
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.  
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.  
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.  
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.  
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.  
†THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.  
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913.  
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., 1914.  
†H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1915.  
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., Litt. D., 1916.  
WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1917.  
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., Litt. D., L. H. D., 1918-1919.

### EX-VICE PRESIDENTS.

- †JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.  
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.  
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.  
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.  
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.  
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.  
†HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.  
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.  
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.  
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.  
†JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.  
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.  
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.  
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.  
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.

- †CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.  
 †HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1901.  
 †ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.  
 †HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.  
 †GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.  
 †EDWARD MCCRADY, LL. D., 1903.  
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904.  
 SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.  
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.  
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.  
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.  
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.  
 WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.  
 †THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.  
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.  
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., LL. D., 1912, 1913.  
 †H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.  
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1914, 1915.  
 WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1915, 1916.  
 WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D., 1916, 1917.  
 EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D., 1917, 1918-1919.

## SECRETARIES.

- †HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1900.  
 †A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.  
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.  
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 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914-1919.  
 JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH. D., 1919-

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 CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1917-

## CURATOR.

- †A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1918.

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 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.  
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.  
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 EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D., 1914-1917.  
 GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D., 1914-1917.  
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 HENRY E. BOURNE, A. B., B. D., L. H. D., 1916-  
 CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1916-1917.  
 GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., 1916-  
 HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D., 1917-  
 WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D., 1917-  
 WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D., 1917-  
 WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D., 1917-  
 JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH. D., 1919-  
 RUTH PUTNAM. B. Litt., 1919-



## OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1920.

---

### OFFICERS.

*President.*—Edward Channing, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

*First vice president.*—Jean Jules Jusserand, French Embassy, Washington, D. C.

*Second vice president.*—Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

*Secretary.*—John Spencer Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

*Treasurer.*—Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

*Assistant secretary-treasurer.*—Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

*Editor.*—Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

(In addition to above.)

*Elected members.*—Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio (1916); George M. Wrong, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario (1916); Herbert E. Bolton, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. (1917); William E. Dodd, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1917); Walter L. Fleming, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (1917); William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (1917); James T. Shotwell, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (1919); Ruth Putnam, 2025 O Street NW., Washington, D. C. (1919).

*Ex-presidents.*—James Ford Rhodes, 392 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.; John Bach McMaster, 2109 De Lancey Place, Philadelphia, Pa.; Simeon E. Baldwin, 69 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.; J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; George Burton Adams, 57 Edgehill Road, New Haven, Conn.; Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Frederick J. Turner, 7 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Mass.; William M. Sloane, Princeton, N. J.; William A. Dunning, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; George L. Burr, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; Worthington C. Ford, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.; William Roscoe Thayer, 8 Berkeley Street, Cambridge, Mass.

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*Committee on meetings and relations.*—John S. Bassett, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, J. F. Jameson, G. M. Wrong, Ruth Putnam.



*Committee on finance.*—Charles Moore, chairman; John S. Bassett, Herbert E. Bolton, W. C. Ford, W. E. Lingelbach.

*Committee on appointments.*—Edward Channing, chairman; John S. Bassett, H. E. Bourne, W. L. Fleming, G. L. Burr.

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*Committee on London headquarters.*—J. Franklin Jameson, chairman, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Charles M. Andrews, 424 St. Ronan Street, New Haven, Conn.

*Committee on disposition of records.*—Waldo G. Leland, chairman, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, D. C.; C. O. Paullin, 1801 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.

*Committee on nominations.*—Victor H. Paltsits, chairman, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, N. Y.; Carl Russell Fish, 244 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis.; J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Frank H. Hodder, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.; Eloise Ellery, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

#### STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Board of editors of the American Historical Review.*—J. Franklin Jameson, managing editor, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. (term expires 1925); Edward P. Cheyney, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (1924); Williston Walker, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (1923); Carl Becker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (1922); Claude H. Van Tyne, 1942 Cambridge Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1921); James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (1920).

*Board of editors of the Historical Outlook.*—Albert E. McKinley, managing editor, 1619 Ranstead Street, Philadelphia, Pa. The following appointed to serve for one year: Edgar Dawson, Hunter College, New York, N. Y.; Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.; Lucy M. Salmon, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; St. George L. Sioussat, Brown University, Providence, R. I.; William L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Justin H. Smith, chairman, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, N. Y.; Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.; Mrs. Amos G. Draper, The Richmond, Washington, D. C.; Logan Esarey, Bloomington, Ind.; Gaillard Hunt, Department of State, Washington, D. C.; Charles H. Lincoln, 22 Dean Street, Worcester, Mass.

*Public archives commission.*—Suspended for 1920.

*Committee on Justin Winsor prize.*—Frederic L. Paxson, chairman, 2122 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis.; Arthur C. Cole, 706 Michigan Avenue, Urbana, Ill.; C. H. Haring, 339 Willow Street, New Haven, Conn.; Frank H. Hodder, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.; Nathaniel W. Stephenson, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.

*Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—Conyers Read, chairman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; C. J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, New

York, N. Y.; Charles H. McIlwain, 3 Concord Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.; Nellie Neilson, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, 1938 East One hundred and sixteenth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

*Committee on bibliography.*—Suspended for 1920.

*Committee on publications.*—H. Barrett Learned, chairman, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, D. C.; Allen R. Boyd, secretary, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, N. Y.; Rayner W. Kelsey, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

*Committee on membership.*—Thomas J. Wertenbaker, chairman, 111 Fitz Randolph Road, Princeton, N. J.; Louise Fargo Brown, 263 Mill Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Eugene H. Byrne, 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis.; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Frank E. Melvin, 737 Maine Street, Lawrence, Kans.; Richard A. Newhall, 253 Ellsworth Avenue, New Haven, Conn.; Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.; James G. Randall, Richmond College, Richmond, Va.; Arthur P. Scott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; George F. Zook, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

*Conference of historical societies.*—George S. Godard, chairman, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Conn.; John C. Parish, secretary, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

*Committee on national archives.*—J. Franklin Jameson, chairman, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Lieut. Col. Oliver L. Spaulding, jr., historical branch, General Staff, Washington Barracks, Washington, D. C.

*Committee on program, thirty-fifth annual meeting, Washington, D. C.*—C. J. H. Hayes, chairman, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; John C. Parish, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; William K. Boyd, Trinity College, Durham, N. C.; Marshall S. Brown, 19 Fairview Street, Yonkers, N. Y.; Lyman Carrier, secretary of Agricultural History Society, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.; William R. Shepherd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; George F. Zook, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

*Committee on local arrangements, thirty-fifth annual meeting, Washington, D. C.*—Thomas Nelson Page, chairman, 1759 R Street, Washington, D. C.; H. Barrett Learned, secretary, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, D. C.; Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Others to be appointed.

#### SPECIAL COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Committee on bibliography of modern English history.*—Edward P. Cheyney, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Others to be appointed.

*Committee on military history prize.*—Milledge L. Bonham, jr., chairman, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.; Frank Maloy Anderson, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.; Allen Richards Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Fred M. Fling, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.

*Committee on the historical congress at Rio de Janeiro.*—Bernard Moses, chairman, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; Julius Klein, secretary, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.; Charles Lyon Chandler, Corn Exchange National Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles H. Cunningham, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.; Percy A. Martin, Leland Stanford University, Stanford University, Calif.

*Committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools.*—Joseph Schafer, chairman, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Daniel C. Knowlton, secretary, Lincoln School, New York, N. Y.; William C. Bagley, Carnegie Foundation, 576 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Frank S. Bogardus, 2312 North Tenth Street, Terre Haute, Ind.; Julian A. C. Chandler, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.; Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Samuel B. Harding, 5413 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

*Committee on manual of historical literature.*—George M. Dutcher, chairman, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.; Sidney B. Fay, 32 Paradise Road, Northampton, Mass.; Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.; Henry R. Shipman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J.

*Committee on a primer of archives.*—Victor H. Paltsits, chairman, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, N. Y.; Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

## ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

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The American Historical Association is the national organization for the promotion of historical writing and studies in the United States. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was chartered by Congress. Its national character is emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington and by providing for the publication of its annual reports by the United States Government through the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The membership of the association, at present about 2,500, is drawn from every State in the Union, as well as from Canada and South America. It includes representatives of all the professions and many of the various business and commercial pursuits. To all who desire to promote the development of history—local, national, or general—and to all who believe that a correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present the association makes a strong appeal through its publications and other activities.

The meetings of the association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so chosen as to accommodate in turn the members living in different parts of the country, and the average attendance is about 400. The meetings afford an opportunity for members to become personally acquainted and to discuss matters in which they have a common interest.

The principal publications of the association are the Annual Report and the American Historical Review. The former, usually in two volumes, is printed for the association by the Government and is distributed free to all members who desire it. It contains the proceedings of the association, including the more important papers read at the annual meetings, as well as valuable collections of documents, edited by the historical manuscripts commission; reports on American archives, prepared by the public archives commission; bibliographical contributions; reports on history teaching, on the activities of historical societies, and other agencies, etc.; and an annual group of papers on agricultural history contributed by the Agricultural History Society. The American Historical Review is the official organ of the association and the recognized organ of the historical profession in the United States. It is published quarterly, each number containing about 200 pages. It presents to the reader authoritative articles, critical reviews of important new works on history, notices of edited documents, and the news of all other kinds of historical activities. The Review is indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of the progress of historical scholarship, and is of much value and interest to the general reader. It is distributed free to all members of the association.

For the encouragement of historical research the association offers two biennial prizes, each of \$200, for the best printed or manuscript monograph in the English language submitted by a writer residing in the Western Hemisphere who has not achieved an established reputation. The Justin Winsor prize, offered in the even years, is awarded to an essay in the history of the Western Hemisphere, including the insular possessions of the United States.

In odd years the Herbert Baxter Adams prize is awarded for an essay in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere.

To the subject of history teaching the association has devoted much and consistent attention through conferences held at the annual meetings, the investigations of committees and the preparation of reports. The association appoints the board of editors of *The Historical Outlook* thus assuming a certain responsibility for that valuable organ of the history-teaching profession. At the close of the war a special committee was appointed on the revision of the historical program in all schools under college grade.

The association maintains close relations with the State and local historical societies through a conference organized under the auspices of the association and holds a meeting each year in connection with the annual meeting of the association. In this meeting of delegates the various societies discuss such problems as the collection and editing of historical material, the maintenance of museums and libraries, the fostering of popular interest in historical matters, the marking of sites, the observance of historical anniversaries, etc. The proceedings of the conference are printed in the *Annual Reports* of the association.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the association, organized in 1904, affords an opportunity for the members living in the Far West to have meetings and an organization of their own while retaining full membership in the parent body. In 1915 the association met with the branch in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto in celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal. The proceedings of this meeting, devoted to the history of the Pacific and the countries about it, have been published in a separate volume.

From the first the association has pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those professionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work, but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the association in the furtherance of its various objects. Thus the association counts among its members lawyers, clergymen, editors, publishers, physicians, officers of the Army and Navy, merchants, bankers, and farmers, all of whom find material of especial interest in the publications of the association.

Membership in the association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member or by direct application. The annual dues are \$3, there being no initiation fee. The fee for life membership is \$50, which secures exemption from all annual dues.

Inquiries respecting the association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, memberships, etc., should be addressed to the assistant secretary of the association at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., from whom they will receive prompt attention.

## HISTORICAL PRIZES.

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### WINSOR AND ADAMS PRIZES.

For the purpose of encouraging historical research, the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the annual report of the association.

*The Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

*The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

Inquiries regarding these prizes should be addressed to the chairmen of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames: "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper: "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina"; with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke: "Antislavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips: "Georgia and State rights"; with honorable mention of M. Louise Green: "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy: "The Anti-Masonic Party"; with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith: "South Carolina as a royal province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg: "The American colonial charter: A study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning: "The Nootka Sound controversy"; with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin: "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel: "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter: "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774"; with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler: "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner: "The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—servitude—freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Charles Arthur Cole: "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary W. Williams: "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

1916. Richard J. Purcell: "Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818."

1918. Arthur M. Schlesinger: "The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776." (Columbia University Studies in History, etc., No. 182.)

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey: "The Spiritual Franciscans"; with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery: "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The Interdict: Its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III"; and William S. Robertson: "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein: "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown: "The political activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men in England during the Interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour: "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington."

1915. Theodore C. Pease, "The leveler movement"; with honorable mention of F. C. Melvin, "Napoleon's system of licensed navigation, 1806-1814."

1917. Frederick L. Nussbaum: "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay on the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Pease, Purcell, Miss Brown, Miss Barbour, and Miss Williams have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the annual reports.

#### MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

The American Historical Association offers a prize of \$250 for the best unpublished essay in American military history submitted to the military history prize committee before July 1, 1920.

The essay may treat of any event of American military history—a war, a campaign, a battle; the influence of a diplomatic or political situation upon military operations; an arm of the service; the fortunes of a particular command; a method of warfare historically treated; the career of a distinguished soldier. It should not be highly technical in character, for the object of the

contest is to extend the interest in American military history, but it must be a positive contribution to historical knowledge and the fruit of original research. The essay is not expected to be less than 10,000 or more than 100,000 words in length. It should be submitted in typewritten form, unsigned, and should be accompanied by a sealed envelope marked with its title and containing the name and address of the author and a short biographical sketch. Maps, diagrams, or other illustrative materials accompanying a manuscript should bear the title of the essay.

The committee, in reaching a decision, will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality but also clearness of expression and literary form. It reserves the right to withhold the award if no essay is submitted attaining the required degree of excellence.

For further information address the chairman of the military history prize committee.

*Committee on military history prize.*—Prof. Milledge L. Bonhan, jr., chairman, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.; Prof. F. M. Anderson, Hanover, N. H.; Mr. Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Maj. Fred M. Fling.





# AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP.

DECEMBER 18, 1919.

## I. GENERAL.

Total membership	2,445
Life	107
Annual	2,128
Institutions	210
Total paid membership, including life members	2,032
Delinquent (total)	413
Since last bill	368
For one year	45
Loss (total)	282
Deaths	35
Resignations	58
Dropped	189
Gain (total)	208
Life	2
Annual	198
Institutions	8
Total number of elections	225
Net gain or loss	74

## II. BY REGIONS.

New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut	397
North Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia	779
South Atlantic: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida	132
North Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin	477
South Central: Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia	72
West Central: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas	278
Pacific coast: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California	232
Territories: Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands	5
Other countries	83

2,445

## III. BY STATES.

	Members.	New mem- bers, 1919.		Members.	New mem- bers, 1919.
Alabama.....	6	1	New Jersey.....	78	5
Alaska.....	.....	.....	New Mexico.....	9	2
Arizona.....	5	4	New York.....	356	22
Arkansas.....	8	6	North Carolina.....	25	3
California.....	137	15	North Dakota.....	6	1
Colorado.....	13	2	Ohio.....	105	8
Connecticut.....	89	5	Oklahoma.....	12	3
Delaware.....	11	.....	Oregon.....	17	1
District of Columbia	106	16	Pennsylvania.....	177	15
Florida.....	5	.....	Philippine Islands.	3	.....
Georgia.....	20	.....	Porto Rico.....	2	.....
Hawaii.....	.....	1	Rhode Island.....	21	2
Idaho.....	6	.....	South Carolina.....	20	.....
Illinois.....	182	14	South Dakota.....	10	4
Indiana.....	46	7	Tennessee.....	20	2
Iowa.....	44	3	Texas.....	44	2
Kansas.....	23	1	Utah.....	9	2
Kentucky.....	23	4	Vermont.....	8	1
Louisiana.....	16	1	Virginia.....	52	2
Maine.....	16	.....	Washington.....	24	1
Maryland.....	51	1	West Virginia.....	19	3
Massachusetts.....	236	12	Wisconsin.....	64	6
Michigan.....	80	7	Wyoming.....	3	.....
Minnesota.....	48	8	Canada.....	28	3
Mississippi.....	4	.....	Cuba.....	2	.....
Missouri.....	43	2	South America.....	5	.....
Montana.....	5	.....	Foreign.....	48	4
Nebraska.....	24	2			
Nevada.....	4	.....	Total.....	2, 445	208
New Hampshire.....	27	4			

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I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1919.



## THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.<sup>1</sup>

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The meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland, December 29-31, 1919, was designated on the program as the "Thirty-fourth-Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting," because the meeting planned for December, 1918, as the thirty-fourth was postponed for a year. But the annual meetings of the association have not taken place with perfect regularity (there was, for instance, no meeting in 1892) and the meeting of December, 1919, was properly the thirty-fourth. So many annual meetings have now been held that henceforth many a city must enjoy or suffer its second meeting rather than its first.

This was the second time the association had met in Cleveland. It had held a meeting there in 1897 when the presidential address was delivered by Dr. James Schouler. That meeting was a notable one, held west of the Alleghanies as a consequence of that mild revolution or infusion of new life which had marked the New York meeting of 1896, and typifying in many ways the new spirit then evoked. It was the first meeting in which the discussion of practical professional problems, chiefly educational, as distinguished from the mere reading of substantive historical papers, took the chief place. The report of the committee of seven on the teaching of history in schools, presented in a provisional form, was made the subject of consideration at one of the sessions; at others, the teaching of economic history, the use of sources in teaching, the opportunities for historical study in Europe, and the functions of State and local historical societies. The Annual Report for 1896, published at about the same time as that of the meeting, brought out the first report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the first of those standing committees through which the association has done so much of its best work for the profession.

From these significant beginnings it is not difficult to measure the progress which the association has made between the dates of the first Cleveland meeting and the second. Progress of another sort may be measured by the fact that the membership, which in December, 1896, had been less than 600, and in December, 1897, stood at 928, stands now at 2,445, and by the contrast, respecting means for useful works, between assets of \$10,885 in 1897 and of \$35,581 in 1919.

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<sup>1</sup> This account of the Cleveland meeting is taken, with some modifications and abridgments, from the American Historical Review for April, 1920.

That the registration at the recent meeting should have reached a total of 316—a figure quite as large as that which has usually been attained when meeting in cities comparable with Cleveland—was especially gratifying in view of the present status of professional salaries, the high cost of railroad travel as well as of everything else, and the regrettable refusal of the Railroad Administration to grant those reductions of railroad fares which were customary in happier times. It was noticeable that an unusual number of the younger members of the association were present. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, the American Political Science Association, the National Municipal League, and the American Association of University Professors met at the same time and place. A joint session was held with each of the first three, and at one of the luncheons the work of the American Association of University Professors was explained by its president, Prof. Arthur O. Lovejoy, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The general opinion seems to have been that the meeting was exceptionally pleasant and successful. That it was so was mainly due to the interesting program provided by a committee of which Prof. Elbert J. Benton, of the Western Reserve University, was chairman, and to the excellent arrangements made for all these societies by a committee of local arrangements, of which the secretary was his colleague, Prof. Samuel B. Platner. All the sessions of the association were held under one roof, that of the Hollenden Hotel, and indeed on one floor of that hotel, which makes it unnecessary this year to say a word on the banal theme of December weather. Even the excellent luncheons to which with generous hospitality the trustees of the Western Reserve Historical Society and of the Western Reserve University, on successive days, invited the members of the association, were served in the ballroom of the hotel. The trustees of the Cleveland Museum of Art and of the Historical Society provided special occasions for visiting their remarkable collections. The privileges of the Union Club and of the University Club, of the Women's City Club and of the College Club, were extended to the members of the association, men and women, respectively, during the days of the meeting. The College Club gave a reception to the women, the Union Club a "smoker" for the men. Appropriate votes of thanks showed the gratitude of the members for all this hospitable kindness.

At one of the luncheons there was a most interesting address by Mr. Alexander Whyte, M. P. for Perth, 1910-1918; and at another Mr. A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, who since then has been elected to the chair of imperial and colonial history in that institution, spoke of the new developments in historical instruc-

tion in London and other British universities, especially of the new provisions for advanced degrees, of the work of the British Universities Bureau and the British division of the American University Union in Europe, and of the possibilities and advantages of mutual exchange of teachers and students between the two nations.

Of the dinner conferences which of late have become characteristic of the meetings, three were held on the present occasion. One was composed of members specially interested in Hispanic-American history; another of those specially interested in the history of the Far East; a third of those specially interested in the history of the Great War. The last was addressed by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, formerly Senator from Indiana. All three performed a useful function in promoting acquaintance and the interchange of plans and suggestions among Fachgenossen. There was also a dinner of the National Board for Historical Service, at which that body, organized in April, 1917, to do whatever service historians as such could perform for government and public in war time, now brought its labors to an end and adjourned sine die. Finding itself at the conclusion of its work in possession of a fund of somewhat more than a thousand dollars, the board offered that sum to the association, to be maintained as a separate fund, to be called the Andrew D. White Fund in memory of the association's first president, and to be used, appropriately to that title, for international historical undertakings, through the association's representatives in the American Council of Learned Societies.

One of the noteworthy events of the Cleveland meeting was the organization of the American Catholic Historical Association. The initiative in calling such a society into existence was taken by the energetic editor of the Catholic Historical Review, Prof. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America. The meeting for organization, attended by some 60 or 70 persons, was presided over by Mgr. T. C. O'Reilly, rector of St. John's Cathedral, Cleveland. Prof. Guilday, in an interesting address, reviewed the history of Catholic historical societies in the United States and outlined the possibilities of usefulness that lay before the new organization. Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, speaking as one of the elder members of the American Historical Association, welcomed cordially the formation of the new society, which expects to hold one of its meetings each year at the same time and place as the American Historical Association. Dr. Laurence Flick, of Philadelphia, was elected its first president; Rev. Richard Tierney, S. J., and Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O. P., vice presidents; Prof. C. J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, secretary; Mgr. O'Reilly, treasurer; and Dr. Guilday, archivist. Its beginnings are made under excellent auspices.



The program of the American Historical Association was composed, as has been usual, on the one hand, of conferences, and, on the other hand, of sessions devoted to the reading of formal papers; and too often, as has also been usual, the simultaneous occurrence of three different conferences or sessions brought confusion or dismay to those auditors who allow themselves to be interested in more than one field of history. In some instances the term conference meant nothing else than a series of four or five related papers, but in some there was real discussion. Of these, that which excited the widest interest was the one called for consideration of the report of the committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools. Under the chairmanship of Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, this committee had been at work for more than a year, at first under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service, but since February as a committee of the American Historical Association. It had held many conferences with representative bodies of school-teachers and had published, in the *Historical Outlook* and elsewhere, much preliminary matter respecting its deliberations and conclusions. The number of that periodical for June, 1919, had contained the fullest statement of the committee's proposals, and the audience at the conference (somewhat more than 200 in number) had copies of that statement before them. In the elementary school, beginning with the making of the community, the plan provides for the first six grades a progressive study of the making of the United States. For the junior high school, which must now be reckoned with, it provides a study of the history of the world and of American history in that setting, culminating in the ninth grade in a study of community and national activities which involves a combination of recent economic and social history with commercial geography and civics. For the senior high school it provides a maturer study of modern European and American history and of social, economic, and political principles and problems. Like all programs of educational improvement, it calls for completer preparation of the teacher in a world which is constantly making the teacher's career more difficult to enter upon or to sustain; and Prof. Frank S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal School, in a capital paper, approving the program in general, showed what teachers' training schools could and should do to meet its requirements. The remainder of the discussion is fully reported in the *Historical Outlook* for February. To an external observer not versed in the problems of the schools it seemed much like other educational discussions he had heard, wherein A and B and C urge that in the framing of a new curriculum more emphasis should have been laid on this or that or the other element, while on the other hand all agree that the new scheme already contains too much, that it will be difficult to introduce, and that it

should be worked out in greater detail. Such an observer was inclined to think that the new program, so carefully planned by the committee and so ably and open-mindedly defended on the floor by Prof. Schafer, was a good one, well adapted to its purpose of meeting the exigencies of a rapidly altered world, and that if it did not include all desiderata it was not for want of having taken them into account.

There was also a joint conference of representatives of State and local historical societies and of State organizations formed to deal with each State's part in the history of the Great War.<sup>2</sup> The theme was the preservation and publication of war material. Mr. Wallace H. Cathcart, of the Western Reserve Historical Society, presided. Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, described the various lists, records, books, collections of newspaper clippings, printed ephemera, and the like, which the average historical society, not State-aided, in the average city, might well accumulate; and Mr. Frank M. Gregg, of Cleveland, described his own remarkable collection of posters, post cards, broadsides, pieces of music, and other fugitive printed matter, brought together primarily with a view to the illustration of mass psychology and the workings of propaganda and emotional appeal. Others described systems for dealing with material, and the kinds of data embraced in official State surveys and State war records. The proceedings concluded with a formal session of the National Association of State War History Organizations, a body formed to secure greater uniformity and cooperation in the work of such organizations. The intelligence with which its plans have been developed has deserved for them a greater measure of cooperation than they have received. The chief feature of the present occasion was an elaborate report by Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the agent employed by the association to carry out in military and other archives in Washington the great work which the common purposes of the constituent organizations require.

Another body, the Agricultural History Society, allied with the American Historical Association, held on this occasion for the first time sessions conjoint with those of the annual meeting. In its discussions the one paper of general purport was that of Prof. Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, on "Possibilities of intensive research in agricultural history." His main thesis was that many of the important influences of agriculture can not be discovered until a large amount of intensive research has been applied to circumscribed fields of agricultural history. Various methods and sources and forms of presentation were suggestively considered. New light could be thrown upon many critical periods

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<sup>2</sup> The proceedings of the conference are printed in the present volume.

of political history, showing the reaction of the farming community to and upon the events of the time. Social histories could be written, compassing the whole round of country life, economic, social, educational, and religious. Finally, one could rewrite the general history of a State or a section by filling in the important background of rural life, so fundamental to the picture yet so largely omitted in most histories. The other papers read before this new society may better be described in the place into which they will naturally fall in our brief report of the papers read before the main society.

Another novelty in the program and one greatly to be commended was the provision of a session for papers on the history of science. That studies in that field, either on the part of men of science or on that of historical students, have increased to such a degree that those who pursue them are conscious of an important common purpose and seek opportunities of fruitful mutual acquaintance is of itself exceedingly gratifying, and the meeting was of a character to augur well for the continuance of such occasions in future programs.<sup>a</sup> The leading subject of discussion was that of the place and treatment of the history of science in the college curriculum. The discussion began with a paper by Dr. Henry Crew, professor of physics in Northwestern University, who showed ways in which the history of science might be made interesting and profitable to even quite young minds, and how general courses and courses special to the history of physics and chemistry, zoology and botany might be combined and conducted by the teachers having charge of those disciplines. Other points brought out in the discussion were the need that students should not be tempted to undertake courses in the history of science until they knew something of the nature of science itself by at least one laboratory course preceding, and that those whose function it is to teach general history in various epochs should not fail to lay appropriate emphasis on the relation of scientific progress to the advance of civilization.

Three papers on portions of the history of science were also read in this session. The first, by Prof. T. Wingate Todd, of the medical school of the Western Reserve University, was an illustrated address on Egyptian medicine, showing its relation to ritual and superstition and the primitive practice prevalent in modern Africa, and the extent of the advance it achieved in dentistry, general surgery, therapeutics, and pharmacology. Prof. Lynn Thorndike, of the same university, read a paper on the medieval scientist, Peter of Abano, setting forth the facts of his life and writings and the extent of his contributions to astronomy, to medicine, and to the knowledge of Aristotle. Prof. Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan,

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<sup>a</sup> The conference is more fully reported by Prof. Thorndike, in *Science* for Feb. 20.

traced the history of the development of algebra through Egyptian, Greek, and Arabic mathematical thinking.

The association and American historical students generally have been disposed to give so little attention, relatively, to the intellectual history of mankind that we most cordially wish great success to the new movement thus happily inaugurated.

We pass from the conferences of organized groups to the review of individual papers. The presidential address of Mr. William R. Thayer on Fallacies in History dealt largely with German interpretations of history.<sup>4</sup> Another paper of general character was that of Prof. N. S. B. Gras, of the University of Minnesota, on the Present Condition of Economic History.<sup>5</sup> As against the inclination of historians to concentrate their attention on periods of economic history, and of economists to pursue it by topics, and the general tendency to make it dependent on either history or economics, he suggested the possibilities lying in the pursuit of what he called genetic economics, or the general theory of economic historical development.

Four papers, in addition to that of Dr. Todd, already mentioned, were to be classed as falling in the domain of ancient history. In one, Mr. Oscar C. Stine, of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, described the characteristics of Egyptian agriculture in Ptolemaic times. In another, Dr. John R. Knipfing, of the Ohio State University, reviewed the writings of German historians on Macedonian imperialism, showing how the views of Niebuhr and Droysen were influenced by the changing political currents of their day, and how those of the present generation of German writers of Greek history, almost without exception ardent for Philip and bitterly hostile to Demosthenes, have been formed by the experiences of the period of Bismarck, the political conclusions deducible from his statecraft, and the rising tide of nationalistic imperialism. In a third paper, written apropos of the present Greek claim to a part of southern Albania, as historically Epeirote, Prof. Herbert Wing, jr., of Dickinson College, discussed the Epeiros-Albania boundary dispute in ancient times. In the fourth, Prof. David Magie, of Princeton University, sketched the history of Roman policy in Armenia and its significance. The subsequent discussion revealed much difference of opinion as to whether Armenia was chiefly valued by the Romans as a commercial or as a military highway between east and west.

Three papers dealt with the history of the British Empire. Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, under the title "England's earliest empire," treated of the acquisition and status of that commercial empire which was composed of outlying trading posts, with extraterritorial and other rights, and somewhat

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<sup>4</sup> Printed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1920.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1920.

of the process by which this began to grow into a political empire. Prof. A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, discussed the organization of the dependent British Empire, using that term to characterize the relations to the British Crown of those territories that can neither be included among the self-governing Dominions, nor among the Crown colonies enjoying some measure of representative government, nor with the Indian empire. The criterion suggested for the classification of a dependency within the British realms was that its inhabitants could make no valid treaties with external powers except through the medium of the King's government at Westminster. Attention was called to the way in which experience gained in dealing with the native States of India has guided the policy of the empire in its relations with protectorates.

Finally, in a paper on "Some problems of British imperial federation," Prof. Arthur L. Cross, of the University of Michigan, prefaced his account of present-day arrangements and of the various plans for the future with a narrative of the stages of development through which the empire has advanced from the paternalistic exploitation prevalent in early days and the laissez-faire policy of the middle period of the nineteenth century, to the colonial and imperial conferences of 1887-1911 and the imperial war conference and imperial war cabinet instituted in 1917.

A great part of the interest, distinctly unusual in degree, with which the proceedings of the annual meetings were invested arose from the frank dedication of large parts of the program to consideration of present politics. Many of the papers in modern history ran well into the future; some lay entirely there. It will not be thought inappropriate if the present very condensed chronicle confines itself practically to such portions of the material as were strictly historical in character. Thus, in the session devoted to Russia, a joint session of the historical and political science associations, Mr. Jerome Landfield's paper on the "Revolution of November, 1917," was a piece of history, while that of Baron Korff, formerly professor of law in the University of Helsingfors, related to the "Future constitution of Russia as seen by Russian liberals."<sup>6</sup> Mr. Landfield described the democratic traits of monarchical Russia and the social and economic conditions which led to the November revolution, and showed how an unscrupulous minority, carefully organized, took advantage of war weariness, hunger, and want, to bring itself into supreme power.

In an evening session which aroused more general interest than any other, Profs. Charles H. Haskins and Robert H. Lord, of Harvard University, spoke on the Franco-Prussian frontier and the New

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<sup>6</sup> Printed in the *American Political Science Review* for May, 1920.

Poland, respectively, and Mr. A. F. Whyte reviewed the "Operations of the main forces at the peace conferences of 1919." Mr. Haskins and Mr. Lord had had an important part in assisting at Paris the work of that conference; Mr. Whyte had watched it as representative of one of the chief London newspapers. Mr. Haskins's principal endeavor was to relate the history of Alsace and Lorraine and neighboring lands, and the old linguistic boundaries, to the recent arrangement, to show the connection of the latter with problems of strategy and mineral resources, and to explain the manner in which international interests were influential in shaping the settlement as respects especially the left bank of the Rhine, the Saar Valley, and the mines. Mr. Lord dwelt little upon the previous history of Poland, but discussed the new Poland, its boundaries and its future, from the point of view of race, language, and religion. Mr. Whyte in a brilliant address, sympathetic to the liberals of the world, but premising that they had expected too much from the peace conferences, described the main currents of force at work there—the overmastering desire of the French for security, the attachment of Baron Sonnino to the old principles of the balance of power, the new conceptions of international order put forward by President Wilson, conceptions grateful to millions in Europe, and the dubious position occupied by the British prime minister in view of an election in which the "war-mind" had predominated, and the consequent necessity that the result should be a compromise. Yet it was a compromise which, thanks to President Wilson, contained the means of its own betterment.

In a conference devoted to the recent history of the Far East, Prof. Stanley K. Hornbeck, of the University of Wisconsin, reviewed the technical aspects of the Shantung question in the light of the historical events of the last 25 years, and criticized adversely the provisions of the recent treaty on the subject. Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University, read a valuable paper on the "Missionary factor in the Chinese situation," the historical portion of which appraised the results of Catholic and Protestant missionary endeavors in China in mediating between east and west, in accelerating the adoption in China of elements from western civilization, in increasing the influence of western nations and in some respects weakening the empire politically, in furthering political and social reform, in "westernizing" the educational system and democratizing learning, and in improving physical health. The paper of Prof. Edmund D. Soper, of Northwestern University, on "Democracy and progress in present-day Japan" gave rise to an unusual amount of discussion, relating to the degree in which militarism and the democratic spirit, respectively, prevail or are likely to prevail in the Japanese Empire.

On the colonial period of American history three papers were presented. That of Prof. M. W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, on "Slavery and the beginnings of industrialism in the American Colonies," has been printed in the *American Historical Review*.<sup>7</sup> That of Prof. Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, on "Materials for study in West Indian archives," was based on the labors of its author in the West Indian classes of the Colonial Office Papers at London, in preparing an inventory of that material for the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The period to which the paper related was that between 1708, the date reached by the last-published volume of the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, and the year 1775. The material consists mostly of correspondence between colonial officials and the secretary of state and board of trade. Its uses for the student of the history of the British Empire rest on its value for the study of the commercial and diplomatic, and in a less degree the military and naval, relations between that Empire and the other powers possessing colonies in the West Indies. To the student of the mainland colonies the West Indian correspondence offers material not only for the knowledge of intercolonial trade, but also for the better understanding, by comparison and contrast, of many elements in the development of the different communities on the continent.

To the history of colonial relations with the mother country Prof. Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, contributed a paper on the "Colonial agent as a popular representative," tracing in detail the development of that official, in the southern colonies, as a representative of the lower house in controversies with the governor and council, and showing how the necessity for the consent of governor and council in order to secure appropriations for the agent's salary and expenses limited the power of the lower houses to use him, and by what means and how far they prevailed.

In a later period of American history the foreign policy of Alexander Hamilton was expounded from materials in the archives of the British foreign office, by Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, of Colorado College, in a paper read in a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Hamilton's genius had created American credit. American nationality depended on the ability of the new Government to meet its financial obligations. Thirteen-fifteenths of American revenues came from customs duties on imports from England. This was the reason why Hamilton made peace with Great Britain fundamental in his policy, and why he "went behind" Jefferson's office in secret negotiations which Dr. Bemis described.

In the same session Dr. Reginald C. McGrane, of the University of Cincinnati, set forth the "American position on the Revolution of 1848

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<sup>7</sup> January, 1920.

in Germany," first with respect to the strict observance of neutrality by A. J. Donelson, minister to Prussia and to Germany, and secondly with respect to the efforts of Baron von Roenne, Prussian minister in Washington, to create a navy for Prussia and Germany—efforts considerably helped by the Polk administration, but abruptly checked by Taylor and Clayton. Another aspect of foreign relations in the same troubled period was covered by a paper of Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher, of the Ohio State University, on "Southern opinion in regard to the Mexican War and the accession of territory." From his study of speeches, newspapers, and correspondence, published and unpublished, he concluded that the South did not support the Mexican War in its earlier period for the sake of conquest of future slave States, but was forced by the Wilmot proviso to become interested, in a negative and defensive way, in preventing the war from being used to serve an aggressive purpose by the enemies of slavery, and thus toward the end of the war there developed a strong southern sentiment against acquisition of territory.

The paper by Prof. Thomas M. Marshall, of the University of Colorado, on the miners' laws of the region now embraced in that State, is printed in the *American Historical Review*.<sup>8</sup>

Three papers bore on the history of the Civil War. One, in the military field, was that of Mr. Alfred P. James, of the University of Pittsburgh, on the "Strategy of concentration on the part of the Confederates in the Mississippi Valley in the spring of 1862," in which the drastic concentration effected by Gen. A. S. Johnston at Corinth was described, and the effects of concentration unaccompanied by unity of command and followed by defeat were analyzed. The second of the Civil War papers was one of Prof. Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College, on the "Internal grain trade of the United States" during that period.<sup>9</sup> The third, figuring in a series concerning "Nationalism in American history," was that of Prof. Nathaniel W. Stephenson, of the College of the City of Charleston, on "Lincoln and the progress of nationality in the North." He discussed with much acuteness the hindrances to the development of a complete nationalism which were presented by the anti-Lincoln secret societies (Sons of Liberty, Knights of the Golden Circle, and the like) rhetorical and infirm of purpose; by the profiteering element whose patriotism did not rise above the level of zeal for the American woolen industry; by the otherwise mindedness and emotional individualism of Greeley and Wendell Phillips and the Cleveland convention. Loyalty to the smaller territorial units had been broken down in the North, but it was still far from a complete nationalism. In Lincoln's influence in helping forward that consummation, char-

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<sup>8</sup> April, 1920.

<sup>9</sup> Printed in the *Iowa Journal of History* for January, 1920.



acteristic elements were his acceptance of federalism and the representative system as permanent features of our political science, and his belief that the laboring masses were the part of the Nation entitled to the greatest share of its benefits.

Continuing the subject of nationalism, in a paper entitled "Fifty years of American nationalism, 1865-1918," Dr. Charles A. Beard, of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York, set forth nationalism as working in an economic pattern; capitalism first of all showing those national and international tendencies which were natural to it, then agrarianism, and then labor adopting nationalistic principles. Finally, "American nationality and recent statecraft" were considered by Prof. William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, in a brilliant and thought-provoking paper on the history of the last six years. Substantially, it was an explanation and defense of President Wilson's course from the time when the outbreak of the Great War in Europe endangered his large program of economic reform. He compared the President's delays upon decision and action in a divided country, in which neither party convention of 1916 advanced beyond neutrality, to the wise delays for which Lincoln was so warmly abused in March and April, 1861; described his effort after entrance into the war as essentially an effort to incite the Nation to victory by emotional appeals and yet to preserve the world from subsequent delivery to the forces of economic imperialism; and emphasized the reactionary quality of the opposition which had tied his hands in peace making.

Of two papers in the history of the labor movement, that of Dr. Selig Perlman, of the University of Wisconsin, on the "Historical basis of the tactics of the American Federation of Labor," argued that history showed action through trade unions as more likely to be potent under American conditions than action through a labor party. The paper by Prof. Frank T. Carlton, of De Pauw University, on "Three upheavals in the American labor movement," dealt with the premature but brilliant flare of unionism that marked the "thirties," extinguished by the panic of 1837; the extraordinary development of the Knights of Labor in the "eighties," its rise out of excess of immigration and its disintegration; and the movement of the last four years, in which the American Federation of Labor has grown from 2,000,000 members in 1915 to 3,250,000 in 1919; and he analyzed those elements in the present situation which forbid argument from earlier analogies.<sup>10</sup>

In the sessions of the Agricultural History Society, besides the papers of Messrs. Kelsey, Stine, and Schmidt, already mentioned, Mr. Lyman Carrier, of the Bureau of Plant Industry, at Washington, read a paper on the "Colonial agriculture of Rhode Island," and Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the Cyrus McCormick Library in Chicago, one on

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<sup>10</sup> See his book, *Organized Labor in American History*, New York, 1920.

"Some aspects of the agricultural revolution of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century." The former described particularly those traits of Rhode Island agriculture that flowed from the peculiarities of the Narragansett country. The latter gave attention mainly to the rise and increase, especially between 1830 and 1850, of agricultural journals and societies and fairs, books and libraries, and State institutions helpful to agricultural progress.

Three papers were read in a session or conference devoted to Hispanic-American affairs, of which two were historical in character—that of Prof. W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, on "Latin-American appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine,"<sup>11</sup> especially at the time of the Venezuela-Guiana boundary dispute of 1895-1896, and that of Prof. W. W. Pierson, jr., of the University of North Carolina, on the views respecting the Monroe Doctrine expressed by the conservative Argentine publicist Alberdi.

The business meeting of the association, which took place on the second afternoon, was notable among the annual meetings for the variety and importance of the matters which were laid before the members.<sup>12</sup> In the absence of the secretary, Mr. Leland, kept away from the meetings by illness, Prof. St. George L. Sioussat acted as secretary pro tempore. From the secretary's report it appeared that the total membership of the association was 2,445, a decrease of 74 from a year ago and of 481 from the figures of 1915, when the membership of the association reached its highest point. The net loss, however, was smaller than in any of the three preceding years in which a loss had been sustained, being less by 61 than the loss of a year ago, while the number of members whose dues had been paid was over 200 greater than the corresponding number last year. It would appear that while a certain decline in membership has been inevitable because of the war—a decline which it may be said is not confined to the historical association—there are many reasons for believing that the downward tendency has now ceased and for expecting a substantial increase in members during the coming year. The secretary promised that a directory of the association, in process of compilation, would soon be published as a part of the annual report for 1918. Attention was called to the refusal of the Railroad Administration to grant reduced fares on account of the meetings of learned societies, and members were warned to be on their guard against certain so-called historical societies which are in fact commercial organizations, and which, because of similarity in names, are likely to be confused with the American Historical Association.

The report of the treasurer, Mr. Moore, showed the finances of the association to be in a most satisfactory condition; the net receipts of

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<sup>11</sup> Printed in the *Hispanic-American Review* for February, 1920.

<sup>12</sup> See below for minutes of business meeting, with reports of officers and committees.

the year were \$10,833; the net disbursements, \$8,120, an excess of receipts over disbursements of \$2,713. The assets of the association in cash and in Liberty bonds amounted to \$33,476, an increase since 1918 of \$2,716. The American Historical Review fund was reported as amounting to \$2,105 in addition. The treasurer reported that the voluntary contributions of \$1 which had been requested from the members had amounted to \$1,432. Nothing gives clearer evidence of a healthy condition of sentiment in the association than so abundant a response to such a request, which it has been thought expedient to make each year rather than to propose to increase the annual dues to \$5, as so many societies have done.

The secretary of the council, Prof. Greene, reported, as required by the constitution, the decisions and recommendations of that body. A committee of three had been named to examine the records of the association in Washington, destroy those of no value, arrange the others for permanent preservation, and prepare for publication such of the more important records of the council and association as might be deemed suitable. The council had voted to take over in the name of the association the associate membership in the American Council on Education previously held by the National Board for Historical Service; and it had voted to suspend the public archives commission and the standing committee on bibliography for the current year and to refer the question of the future of these two committees to the committee on policy for consideration and report. Two special committees, however, took the place of the two standing committees thus suspended—a committee on the preparation of a primer of archives, consisting of Mr. Victor H. Paltsits and Mr. Leland, and a committee, headed by Prof. George M. Dutcher, to cooperate with the American Library Association in the preparation of a manual of historical literature on the same general plan as that of C. K. Adams (1882). The council voted to rule that only essays formally submitted to the Winsor and Adams prize committees should be considered as having been entered in the competition.

Other votes of the council may be summarized as follows: The committee on publications was authorized to dispose of the unbound copies of the prize essays in stock; the council committee on London headquarters was directed because of the institution in London of the British division of the American University Union in Europe to give legal notice of the termination of the present agreement with the Royal Historical Society for the rental of the room, to make such payments as might be necessary to meet the legal obligations of the association in connection with the London branch, to dispose of the furniture and books on hand, and to express the thanks of the association to the officers of the branch for their services.

Prof. Cheyney, chairman of the committee on the bibliography of modern English history, was authorized to take such preliminary steps as may be necessary, in conjunction with the British committee, for the resumption of the committee's work. It was voted to omit the customary meeting of the council at Thanksgiving time. It was voted to discontinue the present board of advisory editors of the *Historical Outlook* and in its place to create a new body to be called the board of editors, composed of five members, who should serve for one year, who should cooperate with the present managing editor, and who should report such proposals respecting the future relations of the association and the *Outlook* as might seem desirable at the end of a year.

Upon recommendation by the council the association voted to join the newly organized American Council of Learned Societies and to authorize the treasurer to pay as the annual dues of the association in the council a sum not exceeding 5 cents per member. The association also voted to adopt the following amendments to the constitution and to the by-laws:

For Article IV substitute the following:

ART. IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor. The president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided by the by-laws. The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the executive council. They shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the council may determine.

For Article V. 1, substitute the following:

ART. V. There shall be an executive council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.

To by-law IV add the following paragraph:

The council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the association's business.

The association voted that the next annual meeting should be held at Washington in the last days of December, 1920. It also voted to adopt an agreement which had been concerted with the Agricultural History Society, and which is printed on a later page, providing for a certain measure of affiliation between the two organizations.

The committee on the Adams prize reported that it had awarded the prize to Asst. Prof. William T. Morgan, of the Indiana State University, for his essay entitled "English political parties and leaders during the reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710," which is to be published as Volume VII of the *Yale Historical Publications*.

The association adopted expressions of regret at the retirement of the secretary of the association, Mr. Leland, and the secretary of the council, Mr. Greene, who had served since 1908 and 1913, respectively, and whose services have indeed been of inestimable value. Memorials of Ex-Presidents White, Henry Adams, Roosevelt, and Stephens, who had died since the last meeting of the association, were adopted. The gift of \$1,000 from the National Board for Historical Service, already mentioned, and designated as the Andrew D. White fund, was accepted by the association.

A report of the committee on nominations was presented by its chairman, Prof. Charles H. Ambler, of the University of West Virginia. In accordance with its recommendations Prof. Edward Channing, first vice president of the association, was elected president; Dr. J. J. Jusserand, first vice president; Prof. Charles H. Haskins, second vice president; Prof. John S. Bassett, secretary; and Mr. Charles Moore, treasurer. The new members chosen to the council were Prof. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, and Miss Ruth Putnam, of Washington. A full list of officers and members of the council and committees appears on a later page. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution as amended, the council elected Miss Patty W. Washington assistant secretary-treasurer, and Mr. Allen R. Boyd, of the Library of Congress, editor. The council reelected Dr. J. Franklin Jameson to the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*, for the term 1920-1925, and elected Prof. Dana C. Munro to the vacancy in the board caused by the resignation of Prof. Charles H. Haskins, the newly elected second vice president. Dr. Jameson and Prof. Haskins were elected delegates of the association to the American Council of Learned Societies.

**PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CLEVELAND,  
OHIO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1919.**

*Saturday, December 27.*

10.30 a. m. Meeting of the executive council. Parlor J.

*Monday, December 29.*

8 a. m. Breakfast session of the executive committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

10 a. m. American history. Joint conference with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Assembly hall. Chairman, Milo M. Quaife, president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The Transylvania project: the last phase; Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina. The foreign policy of Alexander Hamilton; Samuel F. Bemis, Colorado College. The American position on the Revolution of 1848 in Germany; Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati. Southern opinion in regard to the Mexican War and the accession of territory; Chauncey S. Boucher, Ohio State University. The strategy of concentration in the Mississippi Valley in the spring of 1862; Alfred P. James, University of Pittsburgh.

10 a. m. Joint conference with the historical societies and the National Association of State War Historical Organizations. New lounge. Chairman, Thomas L. Montgomery, State librarian of Pennsylvania. The preservation of war material. Discussion: Frank H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society; Burd S. Patterson, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; Wallace H. Cathcart, Western Reserve Historical Society; Frank M. Gregg, Cleveland. The publication of war material. Discussion: Arthur K. Davis, chairman of Virginia War History Commission; Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the Iowa Historical Society; Albert E. McKinley, University of Pennsylvania.

10 a. m. Session of the Agricultural History Society. Assembly lounge. The home market in New England, 1810-1860; Percy W. Bidwell, Yale University. Possibilities of intensive research in agricultural history; R. W. Kelsey, Haverford College. Jared Eliot's essays on husbandry in New England—1760; Rodney H. True, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington.

12.30 p. m. Luncheon session, jointly with the American Association of University Professors. Ballroom. The work of the Association of University Professors; Arthur O. Lovejoy, president of the Association of University Professors.

2.30 p. m. Conference on the report of the committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools. Assembly hall. Chairman, Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago. Presentation of the committee's report; Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon. Presentation of the course for the teachers' training schools; Frank S. Bogardus, Indiana State Normal School. Discussion (10 minutes for each): The elementary grades; Charles A. Coulomb, district superintendent of schools, Philadelphia. The junior high-school grades; Henry E.

Bourne, Western Reserve University. The senior high-school grades; James Sullivan, University of the State of New York. Application of the course to conditions in the South; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Hamilton College. Application to conditions in New England; Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College. Application to conditions in the Middle West; James A. James, Northwestern University. The standpoint of the National Education Association's committee; Daniel C. Knowlton, Lincoln School of Teachers' College. General discussion from the floor, under the 5-minute rule.

2.30 p. m. Conference on economic history. New lounge. Chairman, Frederick L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin. The miners' courts of Colorado; Thomas M. Marshall, University of Colorado. The historical basis of the tactics of the American Federation of Labor; Selig Perlman, University of Wisconsin. Three upheavals in the American labor movement; Frank T. Carlton, De Pauw University. The present condition of economic history; Norman S. B. Gras, University of Minnesota.

6 p. m. Dinner session of the National Board for Historical Service. One hundred suite.

8.15 p. m. Presidential addresses. Joint session with the Political Science Association. Ballroom. Chairman, Paul L. Feiss, president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Recent fallacies in history; William R. Thayer, president of the American Historical Association. Present tendencies in American politics; Henry J. Ford, president of the American Political Science Association.

10 p. m. Smoker, American Political Science and American Historical Associations. Union Club.

*Tuesday, December 30.*

10 a. m. Joint conference with the Political Science Association on the Russian Revolution. Statler Hotel, ballroom. Chairman, Henry J. Ford, Princeton University. The November revolution in Russia; Jerome Landfield, Russian Economic League, New York City. The Soviet Government in Russia; Edward A. Ross and Selig Perlman, University of Wisconsin. The future Russian constitution as seen by Russian liberals, Baron S. A. Korff.

10 a. m. Joint conference with the Agricultural History Society. New lounge. Chairman, Rodney H. True, president of the Agricultural History Society. The internal grain trade of the United States during the Civil War decade; Louis B. Schmidt, Iowa State College. Colonial agriculture of Rhode Island; Lyman Carrier, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. Some aspects of the agricultural revolution of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century; Herbert A. Kellar, Cyrus McCormick Library, Chicago. Notes on Egyptian agriculture in Ptolemaic times; Oscar C. Stine, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

10 a. m. Conference on Hispanic-American History. Assembly hall. Latin American appreciations of the Monroe doctrine; William S. Robertson, University of Illinois. The changed attitude of Latin America toward the United States; W. E. Dunn, University of Texas. The recent attitude of the Brazilian press toward the United States and the Monroe doctrine; William R. Manning, Department of State. The future of the Monroe doctrine; Hiram Bingham, Yale University. Alberdi's views on the Monroe doctrine; W. W. Pierson, jr., University of North Carolina. Discussion: James A. Robertson, *Hispanic-American Review*; Charles E. Chapman, University of California.

12.30 p. m. Luncheon given by the trustees of the Western Reserve Historical Society to the members of the American Historical Association. Ballroom. Luncheon session. Chairman, William P. Palmer, president of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Publicity at the peace conference; Ray Stannard

Baker, member of the American Peace Mission. The aims of the National Association of State War Historical Organizations; James Sullivan, State historian of New York.

2.30 p. m. Annual business meeting. Assembly hall.

4 to 6 p. m. A reception to the women of the association by the College Club. 1958 East Ninety-third Street.

6 p. m. Dinner conferences. Two groups can be announced; one of those interested in the history of the war; another of those interested in the history of the Far East. Those wishing to attend the former will make reservations through Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Western Reserve University; the latter through Kenneth S. Latourette, Denison University, or at the headquarters of the association not later than 9 a. m. of the day of the conference. Other groups by arrangement.

8.15 p. m. General session. Ballroom. Chairman, William Roscoe Thayer. The Franco-German frontier; Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University. The new Poland; Robert H. Lord, Harvard University. The peace treaty of Versailles, 1919; Alexander F. Whyte, M. P., 1910-1918, London.

*Wednesday, December 31.*

10 a. m. Conference on modern European history. New lounge. Chairman, Carl L. Becker, Cornell University. England's earliest empire; Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania. Some problems of the British Crown Colonies and Dependencies, Arthur Percival Newton, University of London. Some problems of British Imperial Federation; Arthur L. Cross, University of Michigan.

10 a. m. Conference on American Colonial History. Assembly lounge. Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania. Materials for study in West Indian archives; Herbert C. Bell, Bowdoin College. Slavery and the beginnings of industrialism in the American Colonies; Marcus W. Jernegan, University of Chicago. The Colonial Agent as a popular Representative; Beverly W. Bond, jr., Purdue University. Factors and forces involved in the control of colonies and commerce in the central administration; Winfred T. Root, University of Wisconsin.

10 a. m. Conference on the history of science. Assembly hall. Chairman, George L. Burr, Cornell University. History of Egyptian medicine (illustrated); T. Wingate Todd, Medical School, Western Reserve University. Peter of Abano, a medieval scientist; Lynn Thorndike, Western Reserve University. The history of algebra; Louis C. Karpinski, University of Michigan. The problem of the history of science in the college curriculum; Henry Crew, Northwestern University. Discussion: William A. Locy, Northwestern University; Harry E. Barnes, New School for Social Research.

12.30 p. m. Luncheon given to the members of the Political Science Association and the American Historical Association by the president and trustees of Western Reserve University. Ballroom. Luncheon conference on world conditions and college training. Chairman, Charles F. Thwing, president of Western Reserve University; Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago; Arthur Percival Newton, University of London.

2 p. m. Ancient History Conference. Assembly lounge. Subject: The historical background of some of the issues before the Peace Conference. Chairman, A. E. R. Boak, University of Michigan. German historians and Macedonian imperialism; John R. Knipfing, Ohio State University. The Epirus-Albania boundary dispute in ancient times; Herbert Wing, jr., Dickinson College.



Roman policy in Armenia and its significance; David Magie, Princeton University.

2 p. m. Conference on the recent history of the Far East. Assembly hall. Chairman, Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois. Russian colonization and policy in Eastern Asia; David P. Barrows, University of California. Internal development of the Chinese Republic since 1911; Paul S. Reinsch, Washington, D. C. The missionary factor in the Chinese situation; Kenneth S. Latourette, Denison University; Democracy and progress in present-day Japan; Edmund D. Soper, Northwestern University. Discussion: William J. Hall, Yale College in China; Sidney L. Gulick, formerly Imperial University, Kioto, Japan.

2 p. m. Conference on nationalism in American history. New lounge. Chairman, Edward Channing, Harvard University. The psychology of nationalism; Max S. Handman, University of Texas. Lincoln and the sense of nationality in the North; Nathaniel W. Stephenson, College of the city of Charleston. Fifty years of American nationalism, 1865-1918; Charles A. Beard, Bureau of Municipal research, New York. Reason and emotion in recent American history. William E. Dodd, University of Chicago.

4.30 p. m. Visits to the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Western Reserve Historical Society.

6 p. m. Subscription dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Address by Albert J. Beveridge.

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**MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL OF THE HOLLENDEN HOTEL, CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 30, 1919.**

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 p. m., President William Roscoe Thayer presiding.

The president appointed Messrs. J. R. H. Moore and Daniel C. Knowlton as a committee to inspect the report of the treasurer and the report of the American Audit Co. thereon.

The president called attention to the absence, on account of illness, of the secretary of the association, and appointed as secretary pro tempore, Mr. St. George L. Skoussat.

The report of the secretary of the association was then read by the secretary pro tempore. This report, which is printed in full below, gave statistics as to the membership of the association; described the progress made in the compilation of a directory of the association; commented on the refusal of the United States Railroad Administration to grant concessions in rates for the annual meeting; called attention to so-called historical societies of a commercial type which have adopted names similar to that of the association; and referred to the members whom the association had lost by death during the year just past.

It was voted that the report of the secretary be received and placed on file.

The treasurer of the association presented an informal explanation of the treasurer's report and of the abstract thereof which had been placed in the hands of the members present. On motion, the report of the treasurer was accepted and placed on file.

The treasurer made a preliminary statement as to the budget proposed for the coming year.

The committee upon audit reported that they had examined the records submitted to them and found them to be correct. The report was accepted and placed on file.

The secretary of the council presented a summary of the actions of the executive council, with the recommendations of the council to the association. This was prefaced with the reading by the secretary of the council of a memoir on the late Henry Morse Stephens, former president of the association, which had been adopted by the council.

Upon the motion of Mr. C. L. Burr, the association, by a rising vote, expressed its approval of the memoir.

The secretary of the council read parts of a letter received from Dr. Henry Schouler, a former president of the association, in which he expressed regret at his inability to be present at this meeting.

At the suggestion of the secretary of the council, Mr. E. P. Cheyney, for the board of editors of the American Historical Review, and Mr. H. Barrett Learned, for the committee on publications, made brief statements as to the work of the board and the committee, respectively, during the period since the last meeting and as to the plans for the future.

Upon the motion of the secretary of the council, the budget for the ensuing year, which had been read by the treasurer, was adopted, as follows:

Secretary and treasurer	\$2, 500
Pacific Coast Branch	50
Nominating committee	25
Membership committee	150
London headquarters	75
Program committee	150
Conference of historical societies	25
American Council of Education	10
American Council of Learned Societies	125
Rio Janeiro congress	25
Committee on publications	750
American Historical Review	4, 400
Committee on bibliography	75
Writings on American History	200
Committee on bibliography of modern English history	150
Historical Manuscripts Commission	150
Herbert Baxter Adams prize	200
Military history prize	250
Committee on policy	150
Committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools	350
Legal services	500
	<hr/>
	10, 310

## ESTIMATED INCOME.

Annual dues	6, 800
Sale of publications	200
Royalties	75
Interest	1, 350
Registration fees	125
Miscellaneous	75
	<hr/>
	8, 625

Mr. G. E. Fellows moved that, in view of the definite refusal of the United States Railroad Administration to grant concessions in rates for this meeting, and in view of a late report to the effect that this ruling had been rescinded, the secretary of the association be requested hereafter, in sending out notices of the annual meeting, to urge all members who should attend the meeting to secure certificates from the railroads, whether prior notice of reduced rates should have been given or not. The motion was adopted.

After further discussion, in which Messrs. Charles Moore, Schafer, Jameson, Gipson, G. S. Ford, and Paltsits participated, it was voted, upon the motion of Mr. Charles Moore, that a committee be appointed by the president to take up

the matter of railroad rates and see if the reduction could not even now be obtained. The president appointed as members of this committee Messrs. Charles Moore, Fellows, and G. S. Ford.

The secretary of the council resumed the reading of his summary and the recommendations of the executive council.

Upon the motion of the secretary of the council it was voted to approve the recommendation of the council to the effect that the next annual meeting of the association—that for 1920—be held in Washington, D. C.

The secretary of the council read the following recommendations submitted by the council to the association, and moved their adoption:

1. That the American Historical Association hereby ratifies the convention establishing the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to the humanistic studies and authorizes and directs the president and the secretary to sign the constitution of said council in the name of the association.

2. That the executive council of the American Historical Association be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to maintain the representation of the Association in the American Council of Learned Societies by the election of delegates as provided for in the constitution of that body.

3. That the treasurer of the American Historical Association be, and hereby is authorized to pay annually to the secretary-treasurer of the American Council of Learned Societies a sum not to exceed 5 cents for each person or institution which was a member of the American Historical Association on the 1st of January preceding each such annual payment.

Brief statements in elucidation of these recommendations of the executive council were made by Mr. C. H. Haskins and Mr. J. F. Jameson.

The recommendations were approved by the association.

The secretary of the council read the following agreement with the Agricultural History Society, the ratification of which was recommended by the council:

It is agreed:

I. That the Agricultural History Society shall hold its principal literary meeting at the same time and in the same city as selected by the American Historical Association.

II. The Board of Editors of the American Historical Review agree to carry a special rubric, "Agricultural History Society," in the section devoted to historical news, whenever a sufficient number of appropriate items shall be furnished by the society.

III. It is further agreed that a maximum of 300 pages in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association be allotted to the Agricultural History Society, with the full autonomy to act in the choice of material for that report, subject to the approval of the committee on publications of the American Historical Association and of the proper officials of the Smithsonian Institution.

IV. Separate reprints of the section of the Annual Report devoted to the Agricultural History Society shall be furnished to the society at the cost of the same to the American Historical Association.

V. That the American Historical Association shall allow the following representation of the Agricultural History Society:

1. The president of the Agricultural History Society, or a representative chosen by that official, may attend the meetings of the council of the American Historical Association and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the Agricultural History Society, but will not be granted a vote in the council.

2. The chairman of the publications committee of the Agricultural History Society shall be ex officio a member of the committee on publications of the American Historical Association.

3. The secretary-treasurer of the Agricultural History Society shall be a member of the program committee of the American Historical Association and shall assist in arranging for the program of the joint annual meeting.

VI. That the terms of this agreement shall be in force until January 1, 1920, but may extend for a definite or indefinite period by the mutual consent at the annual business meetings in 1919 of the two organizations.

Mr. J. F. Jameson moved that the terms of the agreement be extended to January 1, 1921, subject to extension at the annual business meeting of 1920 and that the agreement be approved.

Mr. R. W. Kelsey spoke in support of the agreement.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Hiram Bingham moved that the executive council inquire into the reasons for the withdrawal by the Department of State of Mr. W. R. Manning's paper, and take whatever action may seem to them to be appropriate thereon.

Mr. G. L. Burr seconded the motion of Mr. Bingham.

Mr. Coleman inquired if Mr. Manning's connection with the Department of State might not afford a sufficient explanation of the withdrawal of his paper.

The matter was further discussed by Messrs. Anderson, Robertson, and Bonham, after which the motion of Mr. Bingham was carried.

Upon motion by the secretary of the council it was voted to approve the action of the council in voting that hereafter competition for the Winsor and Adams prizes should be limited to essays submitted by the contestants.

The secretary of the council presented the following proposed amendments to the constitution and by-laws, which had been approved by the council, with the recommendation that they be adopted by the association:

For ~~Article~~ IV, substitute the following:

~~ARTICLE IV.~~ The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided by the by-laws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the executive council; they shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the council may determine.

For Article V, 1, substitute the following:

ARTICLE V. There shall be an executive council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.

To by-law IV add the following paragraph:

The council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the association's business.

On motion the amendments to articles IV and V of the constitution were severally adopted.

On motion the amendment to article IV of the by-laws was adopted.

The president read the following resolution, which, upon the motion of Mr. G. L. Burr, had been adopted by the executive council:

*Resolved*, That, before considering the proposed amendment to the constitution and by-laws, the council desires to express its deep regret that the two secretaries find it necessary to withdraw, and its high appreciation of their long and efficient service.

Upon motion by Mr. I. J. Cox it was voted that the hearty endorsement of the association be given to the resolution as read.

Mr. L. H. Gipson moved that the thanks of the association be extended to Mr. Learned for his services as chairman of the committee on publications. The motion was adopted.

Mr. C. H. Ambler, for the committee on nominations, after explaining the necessity for changes in the nominations as originally printed and distributed to members of the association, presented the following nominations for officers,

members of the council, and members of the committee on nominations for the ensuing year:

President, Edward Channing.  
First vice president, Jean Jules Jusserand.  
Second vice president, Charles H. Haskins.  
Secretary, John Spencer Bassett.  
Treasurer, Charles Moore.

Members of the executive council: Henry E. Bourne, George M. Wrong, Herbert E. Bolton, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, William E. Lingelbach, James T. Shotwell, Ruth Putnam.

Committee on nominations: Victor H. Paltsits, Carl Russell Fish, J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton, Frank H. Hodder, Eloise Ellery.

The president called for nominations from the floor. There being none, it was voted by unanimous consent that the secretary pro tempore be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the nominees presented by the committee on nominations.

The secretary pro tempore reported that he had cast the ballot as directed, and the persons whose names appeared in the report of the nominating committee were declared elected.

President William R. Thayer thanked the association for the honor which he had enjoyed and yielded the chair to the incoming president, Mr. Edward Channing, who made a brief acknowledgment.

The secretary of the council moved that the secretary of the association be requested to frame suitable expressions of appreciation upon the part of the association to those individuals and bodies in Cleveland to whose hospitality the association was indebted. The motion was adopted.

Mr. J. F. Jameson, on behalf of Mr. Schafer, vice chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, which, on December 29, 1919, adjourned without day, reported the following minute and resolution of the board:

The National Board for Historical Service, finding itself in possession of a considerable sum of money derived from royalties on a book prepared under its auspices, adopted on December 29, 1919, the following resolution:

That the board offer to the American Historical Association the sum of \$1,000, derived from the royalties of the board, together with an assignment of all future royalties, to be kept, together with all interest which may accrue from these sums, as a separate trust fund, to be called the Andrew D. White fund, from which expenditures shall be made, in such manner as the council shall direct, for historical undertakings of an international character through the American Council of Learned Societies or through such other methods as the council may order.

The secretary of the council read the memoirs adopted by the executive council at its meeting of January 31, 1919, respecting the late Andrew D. White, the late Henry Adams, and the late Theodore Roosevelt.

The secretary of the council announced the following appointments by the executive council to the standing committees of the association for the ensuing year, with preliminary observations as to the essential changes in some of the committees:

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Justin H. Smith (chairman), E. C. Barker, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Lincoln.

*Public archives commission.*—Commission suspended for 1920.

*Special committee on a primer of archives.*—Victor H. Paltsits (chairman), W. G. Leland; these two to select one or more additional members.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.*—Frederic L. Paxson (chairman), A. C. Cole, C. H. Haring, F. H. Hodder, N. W. Stephenson.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—C. J. H. Hayes (chairman), C. H. McIlwain, Nellie Neilson, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

*Editor of American Historical Review* (to serve six years from Jan. 1, 1920).—J. F. Jameson.

*Committee on bibliography*.—Committee suspended for 1920.

*Special committee to cooperate with the American Library Association in the preparation of a manual of historical literature*.—G. M. Dutcher, S. B. Fay, A. H. Shearer, H. R. Shipman.

*Committee on publications*.—H. B. Learned (chairman); other members *ex officio*.

*Secretary conference of historical societies*.—John C. Parish.

*Committee on national archives*.—J. F. Jameson (chairman), Charles Moore, Lieut. Col. O. L. Spaulding.

*Committee on membership*.—T. J. Wertenbaker (chairman), Louise Brown, E. H. Byrne, A. C. Krey, F. E. Melvin, R. A. Newhall, Julia S. Orvis, C. W. Ramsdell, J. G. Randall, A. P. Scott, J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., G. F. Zook.

*Board of editors, Historical Outlook* (to serve in cooperation with A. E. McKinley, managing editor, for one year from Jan. 1, 1920).—Edgar Dawson, L. M. Larson, Lucy M. Salmon, St. George L. Sioussat, W. L. Westermann.

*Committee on program, thirty-fifth annual meeting*.—C. J. H. Hayes, chairman; other members to be selected by the council in consultation with the chairman.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT THE ANNUAL MEETING IN CLEVELAND, DECEMBER 30, 1919.

As most of the more important matters which come before the association at this time will be presented by the secretary of the council or by the chairmen of various committees, the report of the secretary deals only with the membership of the association and with one or two other matters which call for especial emphasis.

*Membership*.—The total membership of the association on December 18 was 2,445, of which 107 are life members. This figure shows a decrease of 74 from a year ago and of 481 from 1915, when the membership of the association reached its highest point. There are various reasons, however, why the showing this year is encouraging rather than otherwise. The net loss is smaller than in any of the three preceding years in which a loss has been sustained, being less by 61 than the loss of a year ago. The number of members whose dues are paid to date is 2,032, which is 225 more than a year ago. The total loss during the year of 282 is the smallest total loss since 1915, while the total number of new members is 208, which compares favorably with recent years and is 58 more than last year. This increase in the number of new members is particularly encouraging in view of the fact that no systematic campaign for new members has been conducted during the last two years. With the revival of the membership committee and the individual cooperation of the members of the association there is every reason to expect that the association will quickly make good the losses which it, in common with similar associations, has sustained during the war years.

*Directory*.—The compilation of a directory of the association is being carried forward rapidly, although some delay is experienced by reason of the failure of more than a third of the members to make prompt returns. At present about 1,500 of the blanks have been returned. A month ago the secretary's office had occasion to compile the occupational statistics of the association so far as the 1,200 questionnaires then on hand permitted this to be done. The results of this compilation were as follows: Teachers in universities and col-

leges, 506; teachers in schools, 248; archivists, librarians, secretaries, etc., 83; research, editing, and writing, 63; students, 31. That is, 931 out of 1,205 members are professionally or chiefly engaged in historical work. Of the remaining 274, there are 80 lawyers, 69 business men, 25 clergymen, 17 publishers, 15 in public service, 9 physicians, 8 farmers, 7 engineers, and 7 Army officers. The remaining 37 are retired or engaged in miscellaneous occupations.

The directory will be published as part of the annual report for 1918, and those members who have made a voluntary contribution of \$1 to the funds of the association, as well as those who have specially requested a copy at 30 cents, will receive separate reprints of it. It is expected that these will be distributed early in February. It had been expected to include the record of war services of members in the directory, but this does not appear to the officials of the Smithsonian Institution to be appropriate to the annual report, and these records will be printed separately as a special supplement of the Historical Outlook.

*Railroad rates.*—In the course of preparation for the present meeting application was made to the United States Railroad Administration for the concessions in rates authorized for the meetings of religious, educational, charitable, and fraternal organizations. This application was refused on the ground that the American Historical Association, as well as the other learned and scientific societies meeting at this time, was not an educational body according to the definition of the term educational adopted by the Railroad Administration. Appeal made in person from this decision was unavailing. The correspondence with the Railroad Administration has been printed and sent to all members of the association. It seems to the secretary that this decision of the Railroad Administration constitutes an unjust discrimination against learned societies and calls for vigorous protest on their part.

*Questionable societies.*—Once more the members of the association are warned to be on their guard, and to give similar warning to their friends, against one or two so-called historical societies which are in fact commercial organizations and which have adopted names similar enough to that of our association to cause confusion. Numerous complaints have reached the offices of the association during the past year of the practices of the representatives of these corporations.

*Deceased members.*—During the last two years the association has lost 74 members by death. Their names will be recorded in the annual report, but I can not refrain from calling the names of those who have served the association in conspicuous fashion: Andrew D. White, the first president of the association; Henry Adams, Theodore Roosevelt, and H. Morse Stephens, all former presidents; and A. Howard Clark, assistant secretary, secretary, and curator.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

#### DECEASED MEMBERS, 1919.

Joseph Ashbrook, Philadelphia, Pa.

Hubert Howe Bancroft (life member), San Francisco, Calif.

Edmund Mills Barton (life member), Worcester, Mass.

Kemp Plummer Battle, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Nathan W. Blanchard, Santa Paula, Calif.

Henry Lewis Cannon, Stanford University, Calif.

French Ensor Chadwick, Newport, R. I.

Albert Hayden Chatfield, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A. Howard Clark, Washington, D. C.

Percy Robert Colwell, Lawrenceville, N. J.  
 Hazel Louise Edgerly, Wollaston, Mass.  
 George Taylor Files, Brunswick, Me.  
 Wilson M. Foulk, Charleston, W. Va.  
 Louis F. Frank, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Charles Lang Freer, Detroit, Mich.  
 Samuel Abbott Green (life member), Boston, Mass.  
 Charles Francis Himes, Carlisle, Pa.  
 Charles Sumner Holt, Chicago, Ill.  
 William Roscoe Livermore, Boston, Mass.  
 Calvin Morgan McClung, Knoxville, Tenn.  
 Minnie Elizabeth McKenzie, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 William W. Manning, Boston, Mass.  
 Francis Martin, Chattanooga, Tenn.  
 Gempachi Mitsukuri, Tokyo, Japan.  
 Theodore Roosevelt (life member), Oyster Bay, N. Y.  
 George A. Root, New Haven, Conn.  
 Eben Greenough Scott, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.  
 Emory Speer, Macon, Ga.  
 Mrs. Samuel (Louisa V.) Spencer, Washington, D. C.  
 Henry Morse Stephens (life member), Berkeley, Calif.  
 Richard Taylor Stevenson, Delaware, Ohio.  
 Frank Arthur Updyke, Hanover, N. H.  
 W. H. Williams, Kansas City, Mo.  
 Mrs. H. M. (Mary J.) Wilmarth, Chicago, Ill.  
 Henry Ernest Woods, Boston, Mass.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, NOVEMBER 29, 1919.

Balance Dec. 1, 1918		\$3, 253. 28
Receipts to date:		
Annual dues	\$6, 780. 38	
Partial dues of members in war service	25. 35	
Voluntary contributions paid with dues	1, 432. 00	
Life membership dues	150. 00	
Interest on investments	<sup>1</sup> 1, 729. 86	
Sales of publications—		
Prize essays	\$255. 24	
Papers and reports	72. 68	
Writings on American history	72. 95	
		400. 87
Royalties		85. 72
Advance payments for directory		17. 00
Gift for London headquarters		140. 00
Interest on bank account		52. 60
Miscellaneous		19. 02
		10, 832. 80
Total ordinary receipts		14, 086. 08
Sale of bank stock	4, 500. 00	
Payment of mortgage	20, 000. 00	
		24, 500. 00
Total receipts to date		38, 586. 08
Total disbursements to date		33, 401. 36
Balance on hand Nov. 29, 1919		5, 184. 72

<sup>1</sup> This item includes \$518.57 received from accrued interest on Liberty bonds.



*Disbursements December 1, 1918, to November 29, 1919.*

Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 79, 80, 81, 82, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 101, 111, 112, 113, 114, 114a, 116, 117, 118, 121, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135, 139, 140, 145, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195:		
Salary of assistant	\$1,200.00	
Additional assistance and services	143.75	
Postage	210.65	
Telegrams, messenger service, express, money order fees	29.81	
Notary fees	5.50	
Stationery and supplies	113.60	
Printing and duplicating	157.20	
Furnishings	20.18	
Auditing treasurer's report, 1918	30.00	
Rent of hall for organization of Agricultural History Society	15.00	
Flowers	57.62	
Miscellaneous	8.85	
Postage and services, office of the secretary of the council	11.60	
Publications for use of Adams prize committee	5.07	
		\$2,008.83
Executive council, vouchers 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 123, expense of travel to attend meeting of executive council in New York, Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 1919:		
H. E. Bourne	45.76	
W. L. Fleming	74.76	
E. B. Greene	66.22	
Lucy M. Salmon	4.96	
S. B. Harding	38.12	
Charles Moore	16.32	
Edward Channing	18.28	
		264.42
Committee on program, voucher 196, printing and stationery		24.00
Committee on publications, vouchers 85, 99, 115, 122, 125, 131, 137, 141, 142, 155, 167, 168, 169, 178, 187, 188, 189, 197, 198, 199:		
Wrapping and mailing	\$5.34	
Postage and express	17.64	
Storing and insuring	163.79	
Advertising	11.00	
Printing and supplies	25.75	
Editorial services and proof reading	176.40	
Miscellaneous	4.50	
		404.42
American Historical Review, vouchers 182, 183, 184, 143, 144, 156, 163, 170, 179, 186, 190, 200, 201, 202		4,206.25
Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 108, 120, transcription of Calhoun papers		100.00
Herbert Baxter Adams prize, voucher 100, payment of prize for 1917		200.00
Justin Winsor prize, voucher 110, payment of prize for 1918		200.00
London headquarters, vouchers 109, 165, 176:		
Rent	\$140.00	
Doorplate	4.40	
		144.40
Writings on American history, vouchers 146, 182		200.00
Committee on history and education for citizenship, vouchers 126, 136, 138, 147, 164:		
Postage	\$33.35	
Printing and supplies	70.25	
		103.60

Bills payable Dec. 1, 1918, vouchers 78, 83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 93, 96:

Secretary and treasurer, services	\$3.68	
Committee on program, printing and supplies	38.75	
Conference of historical societies, postage and printing	26.58	
Committee on publications, postage	17.48	
Winsor prize committee, final payment on prize for 1918	50.00	
Abandoning meeting—		
Services	\$6.80	
Postage and telegrams	105.03	
Printing and supplies	15.75	
	<u>127.58</u>	
		\$264.07

Total ordinary disbursement		8,119.99
Investments, vouchers 119, 148, 149, Liberty bonds (par value, \$26,200; accumulated interest, \$518.57), 4½ per cent of 1927-1942 (registered):		
Amount paid for bonds	\$24,703.80	
Accumulated interest	518.57	
Commission	59.00	
	<u>25,281.37</u>	
Total disbursements		<u>33,401.36</u>
Net ordinary receipts		10,832.80
Net ordinary disbursements		<u>8,119.99</u>
Excess of receipts over disbursements		2,712.81

*Assets of the association in cash and securities.*

Cash on hand in Union Trust Co.	\$5,184.72	
Liberty bonds (par value, \$29,450):		
4½ per cent of 1928, registered	\$2,100.00	
Coupon	350.00	
4½ per cent of 1933-1938, registered	5,197.25	
Coupon	300.00	
4½ per cent of 1927-1942, registered	20,065.55	
	<u>28,012.80</u>	
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds	90.05	
Cash in Central Trust Co. of New York (endowment fund)	188.91	
		<u>33,476.48</u>

(Increase during year, \$2,716.54.)

Assets of the American Historical Review in cash and securities 2,105.44

Total combined assets 35,581.92

(Increase during year, \$3,508.70.)

The association has other assets in the form of personal property, the estimated value of which is:

Publications in stock	\$7,280.00	
Furniture, office equipment, books	425.00	
	<u>7,705.00</u>	

Grand total, all assets 43,286.92

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW—ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, Nov. 29, 1919.

Balance Dec. 1, 1918		1,358.28
Receipts to date:		
Payments by Macmillan for editorial expenses	\$2,400.00	
Refund by The Athenaeum	1.00	
Interest	53.03	
	<u>2,454.03</u>	
		<u>3,812.31</u>

Disbursements Dec. 1, 1918, to Nov. 29, 1919:

Petty cash, warrants 30, 36, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64, 66-----	\$157.62	
Stationery, printing, supplies, warrants 31, 33, 37, 52-----	41.75	
Contributions to Review, warrants 34, 43, 55, 60-----		
January, 1919-----	\$218.75	
April, 1919-----	320.75	
July, 1919-----	392.50	
October, 1919-----	306.00	
		1,238.00
Transcription of documents for the Review, warrants 53, 59-----	50.00	
Binding, warrants 45, 49, 67-----	11.00	
Publications, warrants 32, 35, 44, 46, 54, 63, 65-----	71.53	
Travel, warrants 39, 40, 50, 51-----	115.98	
Investments, warrant 62-----		
Liberty bonds (par value, \$1,200; accumulated interest \$24.37), 4½ per cent of 1933-1938 (registered)-----		
Amount paid for bonds-----	\$1,131.64	
Accumulated interest-----	24.37	
Commission-----	3.00	
		1,159.01
		<u>\$2,844.89</u>
Balance November 29, 1919-----		967.42

The assets of the Review in cash and securities are:

Cash on hand in Union Trust Co-----	967.42
Liberty bonds, 4½ per cent of 1933-1938 (registered)-----	1,131.64
Accrued interest on bonds-----	6.38
Total-----	<u>2,105.44</u>

CHARLES MOORE, *Treasurer*.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 29, 1919.

## REPORT OF THE AUDIT COMMITTEE.

We have examined the inclosed records and find them to be correct.

J. R. H. MOORE,  
DANIEL C. KNOWLTON.

DECEMBER 30, 1919.

## REPORT OF THE AMERICAN AUDIT CO.

Mr. CHARLES MOORE,

*Treasurer American Historical Association,**Washington, D. C.*

DECEMBER 16, 1919.

DEAR SIR: We have audited the accounts of the American Historical Association from December 1, 1918, to November 30, 1919, and submit our report, including the following exhibits:

*Exhibit A.*—Assets as at November 30, 1919.*Exhibit B.*—Statement of receipts and disbursements, general, from December 1, 1918, to November 30, 1919.*Exhibit C.*—Statement of receipts and disbursements, American Historical Review, from December 1, 1918, to November 30, 1919.

We verified the cash receipts, as shown by the records, and the cash disbursements with the receipted vouchers on file and found the same to agree with the treasurer's report.

The cash on hand in the different funds was reconciled with the bank statements.

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<sup>1</sup> Par value \$1,200.

The securities of the association were submitted for our inspection and found to be as called for by the records.

Respectfully submitted.

[SEAL.]

THE AMERICAN AUDIT COMPANY,  
by C. R. CRANMER,  
*Resident Manager.*

Approved:

F. W. LAFRENTZ, *President.*

Attest:

A. F. LAFRENTZ, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT A.—*Assets as at Nov. 30, 1919.*

General:

Cash on hand	\$5,184.72	
Liberty bonds (par value \$29,450)	28,012.80	
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds	90.05	
Inventories (not verified by the American Audit Co.)—		
Publications (estimate)	7,280.00	
Furniture, office equipment (estimate)	425.00	
		\$40,992.57

American Historical Review:

Cash on hand	967.42	
Liberty bonds (par value \$1,200)	1,131.64	
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds	6.38	
		2,105.44

Endowment fund:

Cash on hand	188.91	188.91
		48,286.92

NOTE.—No liabilities are reported other than small current bills, the amount of which is not known at this time.

EXHIBIT B.—*Receipts and disbursements, Dec. 1, 1918, to Nov. 30, 1919.*

Receipts:

Annual dues	\$6,805.73
Life memberships	150.00
Voluntary contributions	1,432.00
Publications	400.87
Royalties	85.72
Advance payments for directory	17.00
Interest—	
Investments	<sup>1</sup> 1,729.86
Bank account	52.60
	1,782.46
Gift for London headquarters	140.00
Miscellaneous receipts	19.02
	10,832.80
Sale of American Exchange National Bank stock	4,500.00
Payment of mortgage	20,000.00
	35,332.80
Total receipts	35,332.80
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1918	3,253.28
	38,586.08

<sup>1</sup> This item includes \$518.57 received from accrued interest on Liberty bonds.

Disbursements:	
Secretary and treasurer	\$2,008.83
Committee on publications	404.42
Committee on program	24.00
Committee on history and education	103.60
Executive council	264.42
Historical Manuscripts Commission	100.00
Writings on American history	200.00
The Macmillan Co., American Historical Review furnished to members	4,206.25
London headquarters	144.40
Winsor prize	200.00
Adams prize	200.00
Accounts payable Dec. 1, 1918	264.07
Liberty bonds purchased (par value, \$26,200)	24,762.80
Accrued interest Liberty bonds to date of purchase	518.57
Total disbursements	33,401.36
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1919	5,184.72
	<u>38,586.08</u>

EXHIBIT C.—*American Historical Review, receipts and disbursements, Dec. 1, 1918, to Nov. 30, 1919.*

Receipts:	
The Macmillan Co., per contract	\$2,400.00
Refund from E. G. Lang	1.00
Interest—	
Liberty bonds	\$25.51
Bank account	27.52
	<u>53.03</u>
Total receipts	2,454.03
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1918	1,358.28
	<u>3,812.31</u>

Disbursements:	
Petty cash	\$157.62
Stationery, printing, and supplies	41.75
Contributions to Review	1,238.00
Transcription of documents	50.00
Binding	11.00
Publications	71.53
Traveling expenses	115.98
Liberty bonds purchased (par value, \$1,200)	1,134.64
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds to date of purchase	24.37
Total disbursements	2,844.89
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1919	967.42
	<u>3,812.31</u>

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

I beg leave to state that the publications committee decided to bring out the Santa Anna letters with the report for 1917. This made it incumbent on the Historical Manuscripts Commission to offer something else for the 1918 report, and the autobiography of Martin Van Buren, edited by Mr. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress, was proposed and accepted.

The rest of the commission's program is expected to work out as it was presented to the council last February. (See Annual Report, 1918.)

Respectfully submitted,

JUSTIN H. SMITH, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 11, 1919.

## REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

The Public Archives Commission being without appropriation for the year 1919 made no formal report. The chairman of the commission, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, offered, with the approval of the other members of the commission, the following plan for the reorganization of the Public Archives Commission:

## PLAN FOR REORGANIZATION.

ART. 1. There shall continue to be a Public Archives Commission, under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

ART. 2. The commission shall consist of a chairman, a secretary, and a commissioner for each State of the United States. Said persons must be members of the American Historical Association.

ART. 3. The officers and commissioners mentioned in article 2 shall be appointed by the executive council of the American Historical Association.

ART. 4. Each commissioner appointed as aforesaid for his State shall have authority to appoint two "adjunct commissioners" in his State, to associate with him in promoting the interests of the archives of his State; and each commissioner shall report annually, or oftener when requested so to do, to the chairman of the commission, with respect to the progress of archival matters in his jurisdiction. The "adjunct members" need not be members of the American Historical Association. The respective State commissioners shall coordinate their work with the national work of archives by their reports and correspondence with the chairman and secretary of the commission.

ART. 5. The chairman shall cooperate in advancing the general interests of archives in the Nation and shall preside at all conferences or other assemblies that are organized by the commission.

ART. 6. The secretary shall keep the records of conferences and other meetings organized by the commission and conduct the correspondence in cooperation with the chairman and aid him in the preparation of reports, papers, or other materials for publication by the American Historical Association under the usual methods prescribed by the association for its publications.

The chairman also recommended that a special committee should be appointed to proceed with the preparation of the Primer on Archives.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

The annual meeting of the association, which was planned to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, December 26-28, 1918, was omitted. The omission of this meeting has reduced somewhat the work of your committee during 1919.

The two volumes of the Annual Report for 1916 have been distributed—Volume I was distributed in July, and Volume II (correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876, edited by C. H. Ambler), in October. The single volume for 1917 (Philadelphia meeting) is now being indexed.

The Annual Report for 1918 (at present in galley proof) will consist of two volumes. Its contents were partially arranged at the time of the meeting in New York City (Feb. 1, 1919) of the council. Readjustments and additions of materials have been made since that date. Aside from Mr. William Roscoe Thayer's presidential address, "Vagaries of Historians," printed, but never delivered; it was proposed to include (i) reports, council minutes, and other matter respecting various activities of the association; (ii) a list of historical societies over the country and pertinent data relating to such societies; (iii) "Letters of Santa Anna" (thirteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission), edited by Dr. Justin H. Smith; and (iv) an account, extending over about 150 pages, of the war activities of historians working either under the direction of the National Board for Historical Service or otherwise engaged. In order to push Dr. Smith's careful work on the Santa Anna letters more

promptly into print, it has been possible to add them to the contents of the annual report for 1917. The detailed report of war activities it now seems best to postpone to the report for 1919. Besides other items, above listed, Volume I, for 1918, will include four papers and a document, all bearing on the history of American agriculture, as follows: "A Brief History of the Sheep Industry in the United States," by Dr. L. G. Connor; "Dr. John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer, and Historian," by Lyman Carrier; "Historical Aspects of the Surplus Food Production of the United States, 1862-1902," by Dr. William Trimble; "Early Days of the Albemarle Agricultural Society," by Dr. Rodney H. True; Minute Book of the Albemarle (Va.) Agricultural Society, prepared for publication by Dr. Rodney H. True. The volume is to be concluded by a much-needed directory of members of the American Historical Association for 1919, the last directory having been printed as a separate pamphlet in 1911.

The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, issued as the fourteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, constitutes Volume II of the Annual Report for 1918. It has been printed from a manuscript now and for years past in the possession of the Library of Congress. Editorial work necessary to make the manuscript available in print to scholars or readers was begun some years ago by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. Only about a fifth of the manuscript was prepared by Mr. Ford. Completion of the task of editing was more recently entrusted to the competent hand of Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick, assistant chief of the manuscripts division. To the courtesy of Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin, acting librarian in the absence overseas of Dr. Herbert Putnam, librarian, and to Mr. Fitzpatrick's patient industry, the association is indebted for the privilege of being able to bring this important contribution to political history to the light of print.

The autobiography was begun in 1854, when Van Buren was 71 years old. It was abandoned—far from being completed—in 1860. Van Buren died, it may be recalled, on July 24, 1862. Opening the story of his life with some account of his forebears, Van Buren concluded it with reflections on the attempt of the senatorial triumvirate (Webster, Clay, and Calhoun) to demoralize and degrade him in the eyes of the Senate in 1834, while he was acting as presiding officer of that body. It must be regarded as a distinct loss to political history that the author took no account of affairs during his term as President. Among matters of minor interest will be found the record of a visit to Jefferson at Monticello, an explanation of the election of John Quincy Adams in 1824, and reflections on the Senate's refusal in 1832 to confirm his nomination as minister to England. The important portions of the autobiography are concerned with Andrew Jackson in his relations to his cabinet and the men of his epoch. Close attention is given to the nullification and bank controversies. The character sketch of Jackson is remarkable. There will also be found fresh judgments on Clay, Calhoun, Webster, De Witt Clinton, Rufus King, John Randolph of Roanoke, Louis McLane, John Quincy Adams, William J. Duane, Levi Woodbury, and others. The old man's sense of chronology was erratic and at times confused. Nevertheless his skill in estimating men and in discovering their motives reveals an extraordinary knowledge of human nature.

The annual report for 1919 may now be in part forecast. There will be two volumes. Volume I will comprise such papers as come from the Cleveland meeting, the minutes and proceedings of the association recorded during the earlier years and now being gathered by Messrs. E. B. Greene and W. G. Leland, and a directory of local historical societies, which is in process of compilation by Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, librarian of the Grosvenor Library of Buffalo,

N. Y. Volume II will consist of the first instalment of the papers of Stephen F. Austin, edited by Prof. Eugene C. Barker, and designed as the Fifteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Austin papers are sufficiently elaborate to make three volumes when the editorial work has been completed. The scope of the materials in these papers is, it is believed, broad enough to make their publication of rather general interest.

A recommendation recently made by the docket committee of the council suggests to the association a new officer, to be termed editor, such an officer to be appointed by the council and presumably to be paid an annual salary. If the plan meets with the approval of council and association, the duties of the officer will be defined and his compensation indicated. At the risk of appearing to be premature, I wish to record my approval of the proposed position. To have a reliable editor interested in the arrangement of materials for the printer, in proof reading, and such other details as naturally arise in connection with the publications of the association would facilitate the work of the chairman and his colleagues on the publications committee. Might it not be desirable to utilize the editor as secretary of the committee on publications?

Last January the committee on the Justin Winsor prize announced the award of the prize to Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, of Columbus, Ohio, for his essay printed as volume LXXVIII of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, and entitled "The colonial merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776." This, it may be observed, is the first award of this prize for a printed work in accordance with a revision of the rules governing the Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams prizes—a revision decided upon and carefully set forth at the Philadelphia meeting of the association in December, 1917. (See Annual Report for 1917, p. 59.)

In this connection it should be noted that the association still remains under the obligation to promote the publication of Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum's essay which was awarded the Adams prize in March, 1918, and entitled, "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution." In my report last year (Vol. I, p. 56) I referred to this matter. An effort was made to interest a publisher in Lieut. Nussbaum's manuscript. At present it is in the hands of the author, now connected with the Temple University at Philadelphia. It has been slightly revised as a result of new evidence discovered by the author while serving with the American Army in France. It would seem only fair to appropriate a sum of money for the publication of this essay as the concluding volume in the series of prize essays.

Sales of publications (including royalties) during the past three years brought in the following amounts: 1916-17, \$542; 1917-18, \$260.06; 1918-19, \$503.59. The falling off in the amount during 1917-18 was chiefly owing to the fact that during that year the association published no prize essay. Out of the appropriation made to this committee last year of \$500, the expenditure by November 30, 1919, was \$404.42. The conspicuous cost item, visibly increasing from year to year, is that for storing and insuring the bound and unbound copies of the prize essays. Our latest payment for storage and insurance called for \$163.79. Several times before this I have called attention to this same matter. Toward the reduction of this annual payment I request that authority be granted to the chairman of the publications committee in consultation with the treasurer and secretary of the association to dispose of all unbound copies of the prize essays—at present 2,783 in number—on the best terms that can be made. The association will still hold 1,039 bound copies of the essays in varying lots—a supply that will meet the customary demand for some years to come.

The need of advertising our publications was brought again to the attention of the council at its meeting in New York City on Saturday, February 1. "The



proper place regularly to advertise our publications," I then said, "would appear to be the American Historical Review, now the recognized organ of the association. If two pages of the Review were devoted to this purpose we should be able to keep the titles of the prize essays and those of other association publications regularly before the public." This suggestion proved to be acceptable to the council after consultation with the board of editors of the Review. Moreover, it met with the generous encouragement of Mr. George P. Brett, president of the Macmillan Co., who assigned two pages gratuitously for the purpose. The April and July numbers of the Review, accordingly, carried a brief summary of the organization and objects of the association, together with titles of all the prize essays and of some other publications. The October and January (1920) numbers contain similar but slightly revised lists. It would be desirable in future, I think, to work into these two pages lists of officers in the association, together with the names of chairmen of all important committees. Another year the chairman of this committee should be able to indicate certain tangible results, I hope, in the way of increased sales arising from this new project of advertising.

We are indebted to Mr. Brett for another matter that should at this time be given as wide publicity as possible in and outside the association. I refer to his encouragement of the project, first outlined last February in my report, of publishing this coming year a volume of historical essays or papers selected chiefly from the volumes of the American Historical Review or the annual reports, and especially designed to signalize the twenty-fifth anniversary (October, 1895-October, 1920) of the founding of the Review. The plan was stated originally in this way:

In October, 1920, the American Historical Review will have completed its twenty-fifth year. To members of the association it is needless to dwell at length upon the significance of the Review in directing, vitalizing, and lending encouragement to careful methods of formulating and presenting historical problems. It would be impossible briefly to state its value in establishing correct standards of research or to estimate the aid that it must frequently have given toward the proper solution of difficult historical problems. Is it not time to consider the question of making a collection of selected essays taken from the files of the Review, in the hope of strengthening the Review, gaining for it and the association together a larger group of readers and members? \* \* \* Such a volume of essays might yield notable results. At any rate, the accomplishments of a quarter of a century should give both the Review and the association a permanent place not merely among historical scholars but among a class of readers constantly growing and interested in historical themes and activities. \* \* \*

The council, after consultation with the board of editors of the Review, and with the board's approval of the plan as above set forth, authorized the publication of the volume, provided it could be issued without expense to the association. It referred the plan to a special committee of three, consisting of the chairman of the committee on publications, a member of the board of editors of the Review (the latter to be named by Prof. E. P. Cheyney, chairman of the board), and a third member to act as chairman of the special committee and to be selected by the other two members. The special committee, as thus provided for, is composed of Prof. Dana C. Munro, chairman; Dr. J. Franklin Jameson of the Review; and H. Barrett Learned, of the Publications Committee. When the plan was brought to the attention of Mr. Brett last June he gave it his prompt support, subject to a few conditions, to only one of which I need call attention—viz, that in his judgment only such papers as are likely to be reckoned of permanent interest should find places in the volume. The book will be issued without expense to the association.

The special committee has nearly completed its unenviable task of selecting out of some 500 articles about 25 for the projected anniversary volume. Outwardly such a volume might well conform in size, page, and type to a volume of Rhodes's *History of the United States*. It will contain about 500 pages of reading matter. In making the selections the committee has kept in mind a variety of considerations. Attention has been paid not merely to intrinsic value, but also to breadth of treatment and general interest. Technical articles have been avoided. As a rule it has not seemed best to print articles that have appeared later as parts of a book or as chapters of a continuous narrative. While some of the best known writers are represented by characteristic work, less well known and younger scholars have not been overlooked. We have been at some pains to discover articles characteristic of the best work that during the past quarter of a century has been done in the different fields of ancient, medieval, modern European, and American history.

In conclusion, I wish to bespeak the interest of members of the association in this anniversary volume. It should be useful not only as a record of admirable work accomplished, but as a source of inspiration toward other work to be as well done in the years that are ahead.

Respectfully submitted.

H. BARRETT LEARNED, *Chairman*.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

By action of the council of the association on February 1, 1919, the committee as heretofore existing was abolished, and instead there was appointed only a chairman, with the understanding that he would choose additional members of special committees to cooperate with him in the conduct of special pieces of work. At the same meeting the council referred to the committee the question of co-operation with a committee of the American Library Association in preparing a revised edition of C. K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature*. The American Library Association, through its president, Mr. Bishop, of Ann Arbor, Mich., has appointed Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; and Mr. C. W. Reeder, of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. The chairman has asked, in addition to Dr. Shearer, Prof. Sidney B. Fay, of Smith College, Northampton, Mass., and Prof. Dana C. Munro, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., to cooperate with him in this undertaking. It will, of course, be necessary in addition to the above-named individuals to enlist the services of a considerable number of individuals as reviewers of the various books.

The chairman and Dr. Shearer have twice undertaken to arrange conferences in connection with their other engagements when no additional traveling expenses would be involved but each time the project fell through. The chairman is now inviting the members of the committee to meet with him at breakfast during the Cleveland meeting. As far as the chairman is aware, the committee of the American Library Association has done nothing, but the chairman and Dr. Shearer have exchanged a considerable number of letters with regard to the plans of work, and it is hoped that definite arrangements for the regular prosecution of the undertaking may be put underway early in the new year. We seem to be in reasonable agreement as to the general outlines of the work. As soon as definite work is begun there will be a considerable amount of expenditure, and the chairman has already requested the secretary of the council of the association to arrange for a grant of at least \$100 for this work next year. This will perhaps meet the immediate needs, but the serious ques-

tion in the undertaking has to do with the compensation of the contributors of the reviews of various books which are included. The committee ought to receive authorization from the council of the association if they are to be able to promise any compensation, and it would be scarcely possible to promise less than \$100 per title, if there should be any compensation at all, and that would be obviously inadequate to the amount of time and work that would be involved. Even at the rate of \$100 per title, the amount involved will run to several hundred dollars.

The only other project of significance which is now under way is the work on the Bibliography of American Travel, which has long been in process. During the past year Dr. Shearer, who has the work in charge, has added some 300 new titles. The question has been raised as to the publication of this bibliography, but the considerable expenditure of money involved has made necessary the postponement of the project from year to year. Would it be possible to spread the publication over a series of years and so spread out the necessary amount to be appropriated? In making this suggestion Dr. Shearer and I have in mind the possibility of publishing installments of the bibliography in the volumes of the annual reports of the association. The chairman has written—some months ago—to the chairman of the committee on publications, raising this question, but has received no response with regard to it. If the project of publication in this fashion should be approved there would need to be an appropriation of at least \$100, possibly \$200, to cover the preparation of the material for the present.

The chairman may be permitted to report the continuation of his services in preparing materials on recent publications for the successive issues of the *American Historical Review*, and also to mention his review of American historical publications during the past decade, which was published in the *Historical Outlook* for December, 1919.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Chairman.*

#### REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The board of editors beg to report that three numbers of the *Review* have been published since their last report, and that the number for January 1, 1920, will appear in a few days. In accordance with the plans for retrenchment formerly announced, the total size of the *Review* for the year has been considerably reduced. But three body articles have appeared in each number, and this will continue usually to be the practice. As a result of this restriction the funds of the board of editors are in much better shape, and it is hoped that the board will be able to pay an appreciable sum into the treasury of the association.

In accordance with the recommendation of the council, the board arranged with the Macmillan Co. for the printing in each number of the *Review* of a certain amount of advertising of the publications of the association. Mr. Brett readily agreed that this should be without expense to the *Review* or the association, and, indeed, offered two pages instead of the single page asked for. Beginning with the number for April, 1919, these advertising pages have regularly appeared, the first two numbers giving certain general information concerning the association and a brief list of all publications of the association. The October advertisement has been devoted and that of January will be devoted more particularly to the *Review* and the prize essays.

The council may be interested to know that the board has secured an agreement from Prof. Antoine Guillaud, of L'Ecole Polytechnique Suisse, to prepare

a survey of the historical work done in Germany during the last four years not especially connected with the war itself, so much of which, because of war conditions, has not been adequately reported abroad.

A meeting of the board of editors has been arranged for 4.30 o'clock in the afternoon of December 29.

Respectfully submitted,

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The situation of the conference of historical societies is as follows:

First. Subscriptions from historical societies in the United States and Canada to the conference of historical societies in 1918 amounted to \$34. The increasing absorption in war matters, however, caused the subscriptions to cease, even some which were promised. Consequently the handbook which has been the hope of the conference for some years could not be produced. A large part of the material was at hand, and after consultation with Mr. Leland it was thought best to publish this in the American Historical Association Report for 1917. I understand that this has been done and the material will appear in that form. It, however, shares the disadvantage of other subject material in appearing so long after the facts were secured. Consequently, an up-to-date handbook is still to be desired.

Second. Personal conditions make it impossible for me to continue as secretary according to the plan adopted in 1916. I am no longer in such close touch with the societies and have not the same time to give.

Third. No attempt has been made since the cancellation of the conference at Cleveland in 1918 to secure further subscriptions or to send out a questionnaire for further information from the societies. This is mainly owing to conditions noted in paragraphs 1 and 2.

Fourth. If it is not possible to secure a secretary in my place by action of the conference, who will carry out the plans of 1916-17, I am willing to continue as secretary for another year, but will not feel justified in asking for further contributions from the societies as yet. Hence, as notices are to be sent out, and especially questionnaires, there must be a subsidy of \$25 to \$50 from the American Historical Association.

The above points seem to indicate the complete failure of the plan adopted in 1916, due to the circumstances mentioned. There will be some who will say that they predicted such a failure, but the secretary is sure that the plan could have been carried out if the conditions had been the same as they were in 1916. As a constructive plan the secretary suggests a return to conditions as they previously existed. These are by no means perfect, but, perhaps, are the best that we can expect at the present time.

The following notice has been sent to historical societies calling the conference to be held in Cleveland:

#### CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The fifteenth annual conference of historical societies will be held at Cleveland, Ohio, December 29, at 10 a. m., at the Hollenden Hotel, in connection with the meetings of the American Historical Association. The conference will be a joint one with the National Association of State War Historical Organizations to discuss the general after-the-war questions.

On the subject of "The care and preservation of war material," which touches every historical society in the country to some degree, the discussion will be led by Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society; Mr. Burd S. Patterson, of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania;

and Mr. Wallace H. Cathcart, of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Poster collections will be discussed by Mr. Frank Gregg, of Cleveland.

The subject of publication of war material affects mainly large societies and specially created commissions. The discussions will be led by Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, of the State Historical Society of Iowa; Hon. Arthur Kyle Davis, of the Virginia commission; Prof. Albert E. McKinley, of the Pennsylvania commission; and Dr. James Sullivan, New York State historian.

The conference two years ago outlined a plan for a handbook, and subscriptions were received and promises of further subscriptions made. Then we went into the war, and no further subscriptions were received, no further attempts made, and the cost of printing went up. The best arrangement possible was to place all the available material in the American Historical Association Report for 1917. This report is to appear shortly, and will give the best and most complete list of historical societies published in recent years.

The secretary has been in active correspondence with many societies in the past two years, and hopes to continue the work of the conference and to give further announcements from time to time.

Respectfully submitted.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER,  
*Secretary.*

DECEMBER 20, 1919.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS PRIZE.

The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize for 1919 announces that 32 essays have been examined, all but 2 of which were in print, and that the award has been given to William T. Morgan, of Indiana University, for his essay on "English Political Parties in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710."

Respectfully submitted.

RUTH PUTNAM, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 28, 1919.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

At the Charleston meeting (1913) of the association it was announced that a friend, who wished to remain unknown, had donated \$250 for a prize for the best essay in American military history. The association accepted the offer and appointed the following committee to formulate conditions of award and conduct the contest: Capt. A. L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Louisiana State University; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress; Fred M. Fling, University of Nebraska; Albert B. Hart, Harvard University.

This committee drafted a circular, which was widely distributed, and held a contest in 1915. It was the unanimous opinion of the committee that none of the four essays submitted was worthy of the prize, so on its recommendation the association withheld the award and the committee was continued in service to hold another contest.

Arrangements were being perfected to hold the contest in 1918, when in May, 1918, due to the disturbances on the Mexican border, Capt. Conger was called into active service. He was succeeded as chairman of the committee by Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard. Prof. Johnston pushed to completion the announcement for the 1918 contest, but shortly after it appeared he was drawn into the service of the General Staff of the United States Army (historical section) and sent to France. Mr. Bonham was appointed chairman to succeed him, and the vacancy on the committee was filled by the appointment of Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth.

As all of the members of the committee were doing war work of one sort or another, it was decided to postpone the contest until peace. The two essays

which had been submitted were returned to the authors for possible revision and submission later.

In 1919 the chairman removed from Louisiana State University to Hamilton College. Because of Prof. F. M. Anderson's protracted absence in France with the Peace Commission, Prof. D. R. Anderson, of Richmond College, was appointed a member of the committee in his place.

The committee decided to hold the contest in 1920, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Boyd, had its announcement published not only in the historical and military periodicals of this country, but in the leading American and European dailies, in order to give soldiers of the United States and Allied armies an opportunity to compete. A circular was printed in September and has been distributed by the committee and the secretary of the association. The response has been very encouraging. Numerous inquiries from soldiers and civilians have come in and the prospects for a profitable competition appear good.

It is planned to hold a meeting of the committee at Cleveland this month. Respectively submitted.

M. L. BONHAM, JR., *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 5, 1919.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARCHIVES IN WASHINGTON.

The committee on the national archive building, charged to do what can be done to bring about the erection in Washington of the building, has labored individually with various Members of Congress upon the subject, and has had frequent informal consultations between members of the committee. The situation last February was as follows: The site had been selected by the Treasury and approved by the members of the commission constituted for that duty by the act of March 3, 1913. The square selected is that bounded by Twelfth and Thirteenth and B and C streets NW. It lies southwest of the Post Office Department and northwest of the National Museum; is a suitable lot and is inexpensive, the buildings now upon it being unimportant. The Treasury has secured options on all the property, and awaits appropriations.

All efforts to secure appropriations in last summer's sundry civil appropriation act were unsuccessful. The feeling of the majority members of the House subcommittee on the pending sundry civil bill is such, with reference to the necessity of cutting from the estimates everything not deemed vitally necessary, in order to reduce six billions of estimates to four billions of appropriations, that your committee see little hope of securing in the bill as it passes the House any appropriation for the purchase of the site or beginning of construction. At the same time the pressure for space for the storage of documents is being so heightened by the return from France of the archives of the American Expeditionary Force that possibly the needful appropriation may be obtained by means of the Senate.

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. JAMESON, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 11, 1919.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY AND EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCHOOLS.

The original committee of the National Board for Historical Service was organized January 17, 1919. This committee, with the addition of three members, was adopted by the council at its midwinter meeting in New York. Its

organization as a committee of eight was effected at a 2-day meeting in Chicago, February 28-March 1.

During the next three months the burden of the work was borne by the chairman and secretary, the former devoting most of his time to the work of the committee, the latter giving half his time to the secretarial duties involved. Most of the correspondence passed through the hands of the secretary. Every effort was made to get in touch with those interested in the problem throughout the country. State and local committees working on the problem, State superintendents of public instruction, selected lists of city superintendents, heads of department in many of our eastern colleges and universities, all the members of the Middle States Association, the New England Association, and many of the members of the Mississippi Valley Association were written and sent copies of our preliminary circular. This also appeared in the *Historical Outlook*, which placed its columns at our disposal.

Further publicity was given the committee through notices in educational journals and the presentation of its ideas before all the associations mentioned at their meetings and conferences elsewhere with smaller groups.

Committees at work in the related fields of civics, political science, sociology, geography, etc., have been written, with a view to harmonizing our programs if possible.

Meetings were held for two days—morning, afternoon, and evening—in Washington, of the whole committee, to prepare a tentative report as a basis for its final report to the association. This appeared in the pages of the *Historical Outlook* and was given wide circulation. The chairman and the secretary devoted several weeks of the summer to presenting this before summer schools. A report of the chairman's itinerary and success appeared in the *Outlook* for November. The secretary was able to visit eight colleges in the East, holding one or more conferences at each, besides interviewing several of the most prominent teachers interested in the solution of the history situation. The committee's program was also presented by other members of the committee at various gatherings of interested educators in different parts of the country. In some cases the program was presented by a person not a member of the committee, but closely in touch with its work.

At the end of June the secretary dismissed his stenographer, and from that time forward simply answered such inquiries as were addressed to him, completing the arrangements for this canvass of the summer schools, to which reference has already been made. The expense of this part of the committee's work was borne by the colleges interested, with the exception of a very small sum.

Contributions were made to the committee from the treasuries of the Middle States and New England Associations.

As to the work still before the committee: The secretary has already submitted a report on the nature and content of the tenth year, but this has not been acted upon. A tentative report has been submitted on the training of teachers. This phase of our program is in the hands of a subcommittee, consisting of Profs. Bagley and Bogardus. The exact content of Grades IX-XII must be fixed or approximately determined. The chairman has been intrusted with blocking out the ninth and eleventh grades. Prof. Johnson has agreed to prepare for the committee the content and an introduction to the first six grades. The work of the twelfth year is perhaps farthest from a definition of any part of the program. Electives in history have not been considered. The relation of the work of this committee to the committee on the definition of the ancient history field, of the New England Association must be determined. The secretary has the manuscript of their report, which they would like the association to publish as a part of the work of our committee. Proposals from

the American Sociological Association for a reorganization of the high-school field must be considered, and the relation of this committee to the committee on social studies of the New England Association. In connection with the latter, subcommittees representing our committee and theirs have been at work and a program prepared by them will come before our committee for consideration.

No formal questionnaires have been sent out by the committee except in a few instances. Points of contact have been established with key men and women, and personal correspondence has placed a great deal of material in our hands. The chairman and secretary have spent much time together trying to get this material in shape for the rest of the committee.

The task of bringing all this data together for publication and the problem of what shall go into the report—whether it would not be advisable to secure the cooperation of groups of teachers throughout the country to work out or try out these proposed courses with a view to a more satisfactory definition—must be considered at the coming meetings of the committee in Cleveland. Three meetings of the committee besides the public meeting advertised are planned.

Respectfully submitted.

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, *Secretary.*

COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL TO ACT ON REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC  
AND EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Your committee, appointed by the executive council February 1, 1919, found that all essential action had already been taken by members of the committee originally appointed, consisting of Profs. Edward C. Moore, James H. Breasted, and Albert H. Lybyer, who in February, March, and April were in a much more favorable position for acting on the American and other representatives in the Peace Conference than anyone could be who remained in Washington and attempted to act through the Department of State there.

It appeared that Prof. E. C. Moore, chairman of the special committee, had already made a general statement to the Secretary of State urging that the attention of the peace delegation be directed toward the general subject of the committee's report. Those parts of the special committee's report which consisted of memoranda respecting educational laws in the Ottoman Empire and the practices of various countries respecting explorations had already been presented to the experts connected with the American mission to negotiate peace. Prof. Lybyer, a member of the special committee, was one of these experts and was present in Paris. Furthermore, the Archaeological Institute of America was effectively presenting the whole matter to the peace conference through the activities of Mr. W. H. Buckler. It seemed, therefore, to the committee of the council that there was no appropriate action to be taken other than to inform the Archaeological Institute of America of the vote of the council associating itself with that body in presenting to the peace conference the importance of insuring the preservation of the monuments of western Asia. Since, then, however, further developments have taken place which should be noted.

Acting upon a suggestion from the British Academy, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs invited that body to form an archaeological committee, composed of representatives of all the principal societies interested in the matter, for the purpose of presenting their views to the various departments of state. With this committee those members of the American commission to negotiate peace who were especially interested in the subject, cooperated, with the result that a small international committee was formed by the Peace Conference, consisting of Monsieur R. Cagnat, permanent secretary of the Academy of In-



scriptions and Belles-Lettres; Mr. D. C. Hogarth, representing the British Academy, Signor R. Paribeni, of Rome; and Mr. W. H. Buckler, representing American interests.

This committee in March drew up suggestions for a convention for the protection of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire, providing for the establishment of a subcommission on historical monuments and antiquities which should be attached to the commission on mandates arranged for in Article XXII of the constitution of the League of Nations. The committee also recommended articles to add to the treaty with Turkey, and to conventions to be drawn up between the League of Nations and each of the mandatory powers. Finally, the committee drew up a series of regulations respecting excavations and the disposal of antiquities which in its opinion should be adopted by the mandatory powers. These regulations were intended to secure the preservation of ancient monuments and of archæological objects; to guard against unauthorized exportation and unskillful excavation; to insure an equitable partition of results between the country in question and the explorers; and to prevent monopoly or selfish policy on the part of mandatory powers.

Translations of all these documents are annexed to this report.

The report of this International Archæological Committee was presented at the October session of the International Academic Union in Paris and approved by the delegates present, subject to final approval by their respective principals. The following modifications were, however, suggested:

1. That the scheme proposed should apply only to the portions of the Ottoman Empire placed under mandates, and not to such portions as might be given in full ownership to an independent State.

2. That the members of the proposed subcommission of the League of Nations be appointed by the council of the league upon the nomination of the duly qualified academies of the several States to which such members might belong.

What effects have proceeded from these recommendations is not known to your committee. Messrs. Moore and Lybyer, a majority of the membership of the original committee, having now returned to this country, the present committee respectfully requests to be discharged.

Respectfully submitted for the committee.

J. F. JAMESON, *Chairman.*

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND ANTIQUITIES.

I. Recommendation for the establishment of a subcommission of the commission on mandatories under Article XXII of the constitution of the League of Nations:

1. The commission on mandatories of the League of Nations shall establish a subcommission on history and archæology, the duty of which shall be to insure the preservation of historical monuments and the antiquities existing within the territory of the Ottoman Empire as it was in 1914, and to encourage search for and study of such monuments and objects.

This subcommission shall be composed of nine persons, eight of whom shall be archæologists, to be named by the commission on mandatories, for a term of five years, and to be approved by the council of the league. This subcommission shall meet at the seat of the league. Its expenses shall be included in those of the commission on mandatories.

(NOTE.—It was suggested at the October session of the International Academic Union that this be modified in such a way that the functions of the subcommission should extend over only those parts of the Ottoman Empire placed

under mandates, and that the members of the subcommittee should be appointed by the council of the league upon nomination by the duly qualified academies of the several States.)

2. The said subcommission shall take cognizance of the reports made to the league by the mandatory powers with respect to historical monuments and archæology. It shall examine all questions which may come before the commission on mandatories relating to this subject, and shall supervise the execution of the regulations and the functioning of the administration of antiquities established by each of the mandatory powers in the territory which shall be assigned to it.

II. Draft of an article to be added (1) to the treaty between Turkey and the associated powers and (2) to the convention between the League of Nations and each of the mandatory powers.

The Ottoman Government (or the mandatory power) shall, within a year after the deposit of ratifications of the present treaty, adopt regulations respecting antiquities, which shall be based upon the principles set forth in Annex A of the present treaty.

The text of the said regulations shall be previously approved by the commission on mandatories, which shall have power to amend it.

#### *Annex A.*

Principles of regulations which should be adopted by each of the mandatory powers:

1. The term "antiquity" shall mean any construction or any product of human activity prior to the year 1700.

2. Any person who shall discover an antiquity and shall give notice of such discovery to an employee of the department of antiquities of the country shall be rewarded according to the value of the object found, the principle adopted being the use of encouragement rather than threats.

3. No antiquity shall be sold except to the department of antiquities of the country; but if that department shall decline its acquisition it may then be sold without restrictions. No antiquity shall be taken out of the country without a permit from the said department.

4. Anyone who, either intentionally or through negligence, shall destroy or damage an antiquity or an ancient construction shall become liable to punishment, to be determined by the authority of the country.

5. No clearing or excavation for the purpose of searching for antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of a fine, except to such persons as have been authorized by the department of antiquities of the country.

6. It shall be the duty of each mandatory power to establish equitable rules for the temporary or permanent expropriation of ground appearing to possess historical or archæological interest.

7. Authorizations for excavations are not to be granted except to persons who furnish sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. None of the mandatory powers shall be entitled, in giving such authorizations, to act in such a way as to exclude, without a proper motive, the scholars of other countries.

8. The products of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the department of antiquities of each country, according to a proportion fixed by that department. If for scientific reasons a division does not seem possible, the excavator shall be entitled to a just compensation in lieu of a portion of the objects found.

DECEMBER 27, 1919.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE HOLLEN-  
DEN HOTEL, CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 27, 1919.

The council met at 10.30 a. m. Present: President Thayer, Messrs. Bolton, Bourne, Burr, Jameson, Lingelbach, Miss Salmon, and the secretary of the council. Mr. H. B. Learned, chairman of the committee on publications, and Mr. Joseph Schafer, chairman of the committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools, also attended.

The illness of the secretary of the association having prevented his attendance, various items of his report were presented by the secretary of the council and Mr. Jameson.

The secretary's report showed a total membership on December 18, 1919, of 2,445, as against 2,517 a year ago. The number of members whose dues were paid was reported as 2,032—an increase of 225 during the past year.

On recommendation of the secretary of the association it was voted to refer to the committee on policy a proposal respecting membership in the American Academy of History at Buenos Aires.

The secretary of the council presented the following recommendation from the secretary of the association respecting the older records of the association in Washington:

I recommend that a committee of three, residing in Washington, be authorized to go through the records and destroy all those that are of no conceivable value or interest and cause the others to be arranged for permanent preservation and place them on deposit with the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, provided the latter is willing to receive such a deposit. I recommend that this action apply only to the records prior to December 31, 1908; that the records since that time be retained in the Washington offices. I further recommend that this same committee cause to be prepared for publication in the annual report for 1919 such of those records, especially the minutes of the council and reports of officers and committees, from the organization of the association on to the present time, as have not yet been printed, and which in the opinion of the committee should be permanently preserved in printed form.

This recommendation was approved, and Messrs. Leland and Learned were appointed members of the committee for this purpose, with authority to choose the third member of the committee.

It was voted that the association should take over the associate membership in the American Council on Education previously held by the National Board for Historical Service.

On recommendation of the committee on meetings and relations it was voted to recommend the following votes to the American Historical Association:

1. That the American Historical Association hereby ratifies the convention establishing the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to the Humanistic Studies, and authorizes and directs the president and secretary to sign the constitution of said council in the name of the association.

2. That the executive council of the American Historical Association be, and hereby is, authorized and directed to maintain the representation of the association in the American Council of Learned Societies by the election of delegates as provided for in the constitution of that body.

3. That the treasurer of the American Historical Association be and hereby is authorized to pay annually to the secretary-treasurer of the American Council of Learned Societies a sum not to exceed 5 cents for each person or institution which was a member of the American Historical Association on the first of January preceding each such annual payment.<sup>1</sup>

The secretary of the association reported that a question had arisen as to the interpretation of the council vote of February 1, 1919, respecting members en-

<sup>1</sup> For organization and constitution of American Council of Learned Societies, see appendix to these minutes.

gaged in war service. His ruling, that the vote was intended to apply "only to those members whose dues had lapsed or remained unpaid on January 31, 1919," was approved by the council.

Mr. Bolton presented a brief report on behalf of the Pacific Coast Branch.

Brief reports were presented by the secretary of the council on behalf of the following committees and commissions: Historical manuscripts commission, Public archives commission, Winsor prize committee, Adams prize committee, board of editors of the American Historical Review, board of advisory editors of the Historical Outlook, committee on bibliography, conference of historical societies, committee on the military history prize, committee on honorary and corresponding members, committee on the Historical Congress at Rio Janeiro, committee on policy.

Mr. Jameson reported for the committee on national archives and on London headquarters. Messrs. Learned and Schafer reported, respectively, for the committee on publications and the committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools.

It was voted that the public archives commission be suspended and that a special committee be appointed on the preparation of a primer of archives. The question of the future of the public archives commission was referred to the committee on policy for consideration and report.

A question having arisen as to the interpretation of the votes of the association respecting the conditions of the Justin Winsor prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, it was voted that the competition for both prizes should be limited to essays submitted by the contestants.

It was voted that the standing committee on bibliography be suspended and that the question of its future be referred to the committee on policy for consideration and report; with the understanding that the present members of the committee should be continued as a special committee to cooperate with the American Library Association in the preparation of a manual of historical literature. (See council vote of Feb. 1, 1919.)

On the recommendation of the committee on publications it was voted that the chairman of the publication committee, in consultation with the secretary and the treasurer of the association, be authorized to dispose of all unbound copies of the prize essays on the best terms that can be made.

The chairman of the committee on publications having reported that he had been unable to find a suitable publisher for Mr. Nussbaum's prize essay of 1917 (see council vote of Feb. 1, 1919), the question of the obligations of the association in this matter was discussed at some length. The publication committee was thereupon requested, in the light of this discussion, to take up again with Mr. Nussbaum the question of the mode of publication.

Mr. Jameson, as chairman of the committee on London headquarters, made the following statement:

From what your committee has been able to learn from Mr. Biggar, treasurer of the London organization, from Prof. Fish, who for some months had charge of the British branch of the American University Union, and more recently from Prof. A. P. Newton, it does not appear that the room rented by the association in the building of the Royal Historical Society, at 22 Russell Square, has been used to any significant extent by American historical students in London. No doubt the number of such students will be greater hereafter, but, on the other hand, the American University Union, now established at 50 Russell Square, in quarters heretofore used by the American Y. M.-C. A. for war work, and in a building which it shares with the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, will hereafter offer nearly all the same advantages which our room offered. It is true that that new establishment does not give students the privileges of

the library of the Royal Historical Society, or such opportunities as they may have had at No. 22 Russell Square, for acquaintance with the members of that society and of the English Historical Association. But these latter opportunities were not extensive and at No. 50 students will have compensating advantages in the opportunity to meet a wider variety of American and of British students. The American University Union seems to be assured of continuance, if not of permanence.

Taking into consideration all these things, and also the budget of the American Historical Association, the committee concludes to recommend that the association give up its London headquarters and combine its interests with the others which are represented in London by the American University Union. After the first year, in which the institution was distinctly successful, the war prevented it from doing all the good we expected; but we content ourselves with believing that it has served a useful purpose as one of the contributory means that have helped toward establishing in London more complete arrangements for association of American and English academic interests.

The recommendation we have made to the council involves five steps:

1. Inasmuch as by the terms of our agreement with the Royal Historical Society, dated December 10, 1914, our tenancy is "from December 25, 1914, by the year, terminable by either party giving three months' notice in writing," it would be necessary to give immediate notice to the treasurer of the Royal Historical Society that we wish the agreement to come to an end.

2. We should make an appropriation to pay the rent on the next rent day after the council meeting, March 25, 1920, and, apparently, for three months more, on June 25, 1920. This would mean a payment of £16, and as £2 have already been advanced by the chairman of the committee for completion of the rent due on December 25, 1919, it is suggested that an appropriation that will yield £18, say \$75, be made.

3. The furniture of the room should be disposed of. It is suggested that the treasurer in London, Mr. Biggar, be requested to turn over to the American University Union whatever articles of furniture it can use, and sell the rest.

4. Some disposition should be made of the books. Of these there now remain, apparently, only four volumes of guides to archives, published and presented by the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington; the annual reports of the American Historical Association, 1903-1911; and some odd numbers of the American Historical Review. It is suggested that these might best be given to the library of the American University Union, which now consists chiefly of 400 or 500 volumes presented by the American Library Association, understood to relate mostly to American history and government.

5. Some message of thanks should be sent to those who have acted as officers of our London branch—Viscount Bryce, chairman; Mr. Hubert Hall, vice chairman; Prof. A. P. Newton, secretary; and Mr. H. P. Biggar, treasurer.

It was voted to approve the foregoing recommendations, with the understanding that the treasurer of the association would make such payments as might be required to meet the legal obligations of the association.

In accordance with the recommendation of the committee on honorary and corresponding members, it was voted that no action be taken on this subject at this time.

The statement made by Mr. Jameson for the committee which was appointed to act on the report of the special committee on American scientific and education interests in the Ottoman Empire was received and the committee discharged. (See council vote of Feb. 1, 1919.)

The secretary of the council reported a communication from Prof. E. P. Cheyney on the continuation of the work of the committee on bibliography of modern English history. It was voted that the work be resumed; that Prof. Cheyney be authorized to take such steps as might be appropriate for this purpose, and that he be requested to nominate his colleagues on the committee.

The session was interrupted at the noon hour for lunch, at which time the choice of a place of meeting for 1920 was informally discussed.

After the noon intermission the committee on appointments presented a partial report, which was approved. (See the list of committee assignments appended to these minutes.)

At 5.30 p. m. the council adjourned to meet the next day, December 28, at 3 p. m. at the University Club.

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**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE UNIVER-  
SITY CLUB, CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 28, 1919.**

The meeting was called to order at 3 p. m. by President Thayer; other members present as on the previous day, with the addition of Mr. Charles Moore, treasurer.

On the recommendation of the secretary of the association the president, the secretary, and the treasurer of the association were authorized to institute legal proceedings for the protection of the public and of the association against certain so-called "historical societies;" provided that the above-mentioned officers, after full examination of the evidence on hand and after further consultation with legal counsel, deem such proceedings to be advisable.

On behalf of the secretary of the association Mr. Jameson presented the following proposed agreement with the Agricultural History Society, which was approved:

It is agreed:

I. That the Agricultural History Society shall hold its principal literary meeting at the same time and in the same city as selected by the American Historical Association.

II. The board of editors of the American Historical Review agree to carry a special rubric, "Agricultural History Society," in the section devoted to historical news whenever a sufficient number of appropriate items shall be furnished by the society.

III. It is further agreed that a maximum of 300 pages in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association be allotted to the Agricultural History Society, with the full autonomy to act in the choice of material for that report, subject to the approval of the committee on publications of the American Historical Association and of the proper officials of the Smithsonian Institution.

IV. Separate reprints of the section of the Annual Report devoted to the Agricultural History Society shall be furnished to the society at the cost of same to the American Historical Association.

V. That the American Historical Association shall allow the following representation of the Agricultural History Society:

1. The president of the Agricultural History Society, or a representative chosen by that official, may attend the meetings of the council of the American Historical Association, and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the Agricultural History Society, but will not be granted a vote in the council.

2. The chairman of the publications committee of the Agricultural History Society shall be ex officio a member of the committee on publications of the American Historical Association.

3. The secretary-treasurer of the Agricultural History Society shall be a member of the program committee of the American Historical Association, and shall assist in arranging for the program of the joint annual meeting.

VI. That the terms of this agreement shall be in force until January 1, 1921, but may extend for a definite or indefinite period by the mutual consent, at the annual business meetings in 1919, of the two organizations. (For action of the association, see minutes of the annual meeting of Dec. 30, 1919).

It was voted to recommend that the annual meeting of the association for 1920 be held in Washington.

It was voted that the customary meeting of the council at Thanksgiving time be omitted.

The treasurer of the association presented his annual report, which, in summary form, was as follows:

*Statement of treasurer, Nov. 30, 1919.*

RECEIPTS.

Annual dues.....	\$6,805.73	
Life membership fees.....	150.00	
Voluntary contributions paid with dues.....	1,432.00	
Sale of publications.....	400.87	
Royalties.....	85.72	
Advance payments for directory.....	17.00	
Interest on investments.....	* 1,729.86	
Interest on bank account.....	52.60	
Gift for London headquarters.....	140.00	
Miscellaneous.....	19.02	
		\$10,832.80
Sale of American Exchange National Bank stock.....	4,500.00	
Payment of mortgage.....	20,000.00	
		24,500.00
Total receipts.....		35,332.80
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1918.....		3,253.28
		<u>38,586.08</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Secretary and treasurer.....	\$2,008.83	
Executive council.....	264.42	
Committee on program.....	24.00	
Committee on publications.....	404.42	
American Historical Review.....	4,206.25	
Historical manuscripts commission.....	100.00	
Adams prize committee.....	200.00	
Winsor prize committee.....	200.00	
Committee on history and education.....	103.60	
Writings on American history.....	200.00	
London headquarters.....	144.40	
Accounts payable Dec. 1, 1918.....	264.07	
		8,119.99
Liberty bonds purchased (par value \$26,200).....		24,762.80
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds to date of purchase.....		518.57
Total expenditures.....		33,401.36
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1919.....		5,184.72
		<u>38,586.08</u>

(Excess of net receipts over net disbursements, \$2,712.81.)

ASSETS.

General:		
Bank balance.....	\$5,184.72	
Liberty bonds (par value \$29,450).....	28,012.80	
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds.....	90.05	
Cash in Central Trust Co. of New York (endowment fund).....	188.91	
		33,476.48
American Historical Review:		
Bank balance.....	967.42	
Liberty bonds (par value, \$1,200).....	1,131.64	
Accrued interest on Liberty bonds.....	6.38	
		2,105.44
		<u>35,581.92</u>

\* This item includes \$518.57 received from accrued interest on Liberty bonds.

Publications in stock, estimate.....	\$7,280.00	
Furniture, office equipment, books, estimate.....	425.00	
		<u>\$7,705.00</u>
		43,286.92

The treasurer, as chairman of the finance committee of the council, presented the following estimates of receipts and expenditures, which were approved as the budget for 1920:

## RECEIPTS.

Annual dues.....	\$6,800.00	
Sale of publications.....	200.00	
Royalties.....	75.00	
Interest.....	1,350.00	
Registration fees.....	125.00	
Miscellaneous.....	75.00	
		<u>\$8,625.00</u>

## EXPENDITURES.

Administration (\$2,800):		
Secretary and treasurer.....	\$2,500.00	
Pacific Coast branch.....	50.00	
Nominating committee.....	25.00	
Membership committee.....	150.00	
London headquarters.....	75.00	
Meetings and relations (\$335):		
Program committee.....	\$150.00	
Executive council.....		
Conference of historical societies.....	25.00	
American council of education.....	10.00	
American council of learned societies.....	125.00	
Rio Janeiro Congress.....	25.00	
Academia Americana.....		
Publications and prizes (\$6,175):		
Publication committee.....	750.00	
American Historical Review.....	4,400.00	
Committee on bibliography.....	75.00	
Writings on American history.....	200.00	
Bibliography of modern English history.....	150.00	
Historical manuscript commission.....	150.00	
Public archives commission.....		
Adams prize.....	200.00	
Military history prize.....	250.00	
Special (\$1,000):		
Committee on policy.....	150.00	
Committee on history and education.....	350.00	
Legal services.....	500.00	
		<u>10,310.00</u>
Net income.....		<u>8,625.00</u>
		1,685.00
Deficit.....		1,685.00

It was voted to renew in 1920 the request made to members of the association in 1919 for a voluntary contribution of \$1 each, in addition to the regular annual dues.

The proposed amendments to the constitution and by-laws of the association being under consideration, Mr. Burr moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That before considering the proposed amendment to the constitution and by-laws the council desires to express its deep regret that the two secretaries find it necessary to withdraw, and its high appreciation of their long and efficient service.

It was voted to recommend to the association the following amendments to the constitution and by-laws:



For Article IV substitute the following:

Article IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a treasury, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided by the by-laws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the executive council. They shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the council may determine.

For Article V, 1, substitute the following:

Article V. There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.

To by-law IV add the following paragraph:

The council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the association's business.

It was voted to revive the committee on membership.

On recommendation of the special committee on the relations of the Historical Outlook with the American Historical Association the following votes were adopted:

1. That the present board of advisory editors be discontinued.  
2. That a new board be created to be known as the board of editors of the Historical Outlook.

3. That the board consist for the year 1920 of five editors, appointed by the council, to serve for one year.

4. That the functions of the board shall be: (a) To cooperate with the managing editor, Dr. A. E. McKinley, in the securing of material for publication and in such other ways as may be found appropriate; (b) to report to the council at the annual meeting of 1920 such proposals respecting the future relations of the Historical Outlook with the association as may then appear desirable.

The committee on appointments was authorized to act for the council in filling such vacancies as had not already been provided for. The complete list of committee assignments is appended to these minutes.

It was voted to refer to the committee on the national archives certain communications presented by Messrs. R. M. Johnston and F. L. Paxson respecting the archives of the American Expeditionary Forces.

On motion of Prof. Burr the following memoir on the late H. Morse Stephens, former president of the association, was received and by a rising vote ordered to be spread upon the minutes of the council:

In the death of Prof. Henry Morse Stephens, on April 17, 1919, this association has lost one of those who during the past quarter century, have had largest part in its affairs. It was in 1894 that Cornell University called him across the sea to take the chair left vacant by the death of Herbert Tuttle. Of English family, educated in Scotland and at Oxford, a lecturer at Cambridge, known to historians by his writings on India, Portugal, the French Revolution, his experience was already wide, and not alone as scholar and teacher, but also as journalist and man of affairs. He came to America filled with projects for the organization and advance of historical scholarship. Connecting himself at once with this association he was a leader in the erection of the American Historical Review, gathered about him the younger leaders of historical work, and had much to do with the changes that broadened the policy of this association. And when in 1902 the University of California called him to the Pacific slope he did not leave the association behind. It was he who organized our Pacific Coast Branch and who remained a guiding spirit in its councils. Year by year he crossed the continent to our annual meetings, bringing always suggestion and stimulus. At last, in 1915, the expositions in honor of the Panama Canal made possible his long-cherished dream of inviting us to San Francisco, and there he presided at our sessions, as, at those of the Panama Pacific Historical Congress, which was also his project and which, despite the war, he made a brilliant success. In Washington at

Christmas tide he crowned his presidency with another notable address; and, still undaunted, he was in the following year again among us, though the journey cost a desperate illness. But his services to history at large were by no means confined to his work through this body. Throughout the country he brought as a lecturer inspiration to large audiences. Few teachers kindled so many to the lifelong service of history as did he by his perennial fascination for young men. Especially in California he built up a notable group of young historians; and he knew how to enlist the pride of the Coast in the provision of endowments for their research in the records of Spain and of Spanish America. To this wider mission of the teacher was even sacrificed much of the productiveness of his own pen.

Though his years had barely passed 60 his health had more than once suffered a break, but his remarkable vitality so rose to the emergencies brought by the war that during his last year he took upon him at Berkeley a new burden of executive duties. But the effort was perhaps too great. Returning by street-car from the burial of his old friend, Mrs. Hearst, the benefactress of the university, he was in conversation with a friend when almost momentarily merged into death. Few teachers have been so deeply or so widely mourned.

Adjourned,

EVARTS B. GREENE,  
*Secretary of the Council.*

#### APPOINTMENTS TO COMMITTEES, COMMISSIONS, AND BOARDS FOR 1920.

(The names of new members of standing committees are italicized.)

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Justin H. Smith (chairman), *H. C. Barker*, Mrs. A. G. Draper, L. Esarey, G. Hunt, C. H. Lincoln.

*Public archives commission.*—Commission suspended for 1920.

*Special committee on a primer of archives.*—Victor H. Paltsits (chairman), W. G. Leland; these two to select one or more additional members.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.*—F. L. Paxson (chairman), A. C. Cole, C. H. Haring, F. H. Hodder, N. W. Stephenson.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—Conyers Read (chairman), C. J. H. Hayes, C. H. McIlwain, Nellie Neilson, Bernadotte Schmitt.

*Editor American Historical Review* (to serve six years from Jan. 1, 1920).—J. F. Jameson.

*Committee on bibliography.*—Committee suspended for 1920.

*Special committee to cooperate with the American Library Association in the preparation of a manual of historical literature.*—G. M. Dutcher, S. B. Fay,<sup>\*</sup> A. H. Shearer,<sup>\*</sup> H. R. Shipman.<sup>\*</sup>

*Committee on publications.*—H. B. Learned (chairman); other members ex officio.

*Secretary conference of historical societies.*—J. C. Parish.

*Committee on national archives.*<sup>4</sup>—J. F. Jameson (chairman), Charles Moore, Lieut. Col. O. L. Spaulding.

*Committee on membership.*<sup>4</sup>—T. J. Wertenbaker (chairman), Louise Brown, E. H. Byrne, A. C. Krey, F. E. Melvin, R. A. Newhall, Julia S. Orvis,<sup>\*</sup> C. W. Ramsdell, J. G. Randall, A. P. Scott, J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., G. F. Zook.

*Board of editors Historical Outlook*<sup>4</sup> (to serve in cooperation with A. E. McKinley, managing editor, for one year from Jan. 1, 1920).—Edgar Dawson, L. M. Larson, Lucy M. Salmon, St. George L. Sioussat, W. L. Westermann.

*Committee on program, thirty-fifth annual meeting.*—C. J. H. Hayes (chairman); other members to be selected by the council in consultation with the chairman.

<sup>\*</sup> These members designated by the chairman in accordance with the council vote of Feb. 1, 1919.

<sup>4</sup> Members of this committee selected by the committee on appointments in accordance with the council vote.

<sup>\*</sup> Declined appointment.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN THE HOTEL  
HOLLENDEN, CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 31, 1919.**

The council met at 11 a. m. President Channing presided and Mr. Charles Moore acted as secretary pro tempore.

Pursuant to the vote of the association ratifying the constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies, Messrs. Jameson and Haskins were elected delegates to represent the American Historical Association in said council.

Mr. Allen R. Boyd was elected editor of the association. It was voted to define the duties of the editor as follows:

It shall be the duty of the editor under the direction of the committee on publications to—

(1) Collect, edit, and prepare for publication the annual report of the association.

(2) Transmit the report to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution not later than July 1 of each year.

(3) Read the proofs of the report and cause them to be read by the various contributors.

(4) Cause suitable indexes to be made to the annual reports.

(5) Act as secretary of the committee on publications.

(6) Perform such other editorial services within reasonable limits as may be determined by the committee on publications.

Miss Patty W. Washington was elected assistant secretary-treasurer of the association. It was voted to define the duties of the assistant secretary-treasurer as follows:

It shall be the duty of the assistant secretary-treasurer—

(1) Under the direction of the secretary to keep the membership roll of the association; to correct the mailing list of the American Historical Review; to approve bills and vouchers that at present require to be approved by the secretary; to conduct the routine correspondence of the association; and in general to perform such duties as may be directed by the secretary.

(2) Under the direction of the treasurer to keep the books and accounts of the association, to collect the annual dues and other moneys payable to the treasurer, and in general to perform such duties as may be directed by the treasurer.

(3) The assistant secretary-treasurer shall be the custodian of the records of the association except as otherwise provided.

It was voted that the assistant secretary-treasurer be authorized to sign checks of the association and of the American Historical Review when countersigned by either the secretary or the treasurer of the association.

It was voted that the committee on local arrangements for the annual meeting of 1920, to be held in Washington, should consist of Hon. Thomas Nelson Page, chairman; Mr. H. B. Learned, secretary; and Mr. Charles Moore; and that these members be authorized to add to their number.

It was voted to appoint Mr. Carlton J. H. Hayes chairman of the committee on program for the annual meeting of 1920, with Mr. John C. Parish, secretary of the Conference of Historical Societies, and Mr. Lyman Carrier, secretary of the Agricultural History Society, as ex officio members; and it was voted to authorize and request the committee of the council on appointments, in consultation with Mr. J. F. Jameson, to make further appointments to the committee on program.

The resignation of Mr. Charles H. Haskins as a member of the board of editors of the American Historical Review was presented and accepted, Mr. Haskins having been elected second vice president of the association. Mr.

Dana C. Munro was elected a member of the board of editors to serve during the unexpired term of Mr. Haskins.

It was voted to authorize the treasurer to invest \$3,000 of the association's funds in United States bonds.

Adjourned.

CHARLES MOORE,  
*Secretary pro tempore.*

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ADOPTED BY CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MEMBERS.

APPOINTMENTS TO COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL.

*Committee on docket.*—Edward Channing (chairman), John S. Bassett, W. E. Dodd, A. C. McLaughlin, J. T. Shotwell.

*Committee on meetings and relations.*—John S. Bassett (chairman), Charles H. Haskins, J. F. Jameson, G. M. Wrong, Ruth Putnam.

*Committee on finance.*—Charles Moore (chairman), John S. Bassett, Herbert E. Bolton, W. C. Ford, W. E. Lingelbach.

*Committee on appointments.*—Edward Channing (chairman), John S. Bassett, H. E. Bourne, W. L. Fleming, G. L. Burr.

*Postal votes.*

Upon canvass by the secretary of the committee on appointments it was unanimously voted to nominate Prof. Williston Walker to the board of editors of the American Historical Review for the term expiring in December, 1925, in place of Prof. Dana C. Munro, who was elected to the board by the council on December 31, 1919, but who declined to accept the election.

Upon nomination by the committee on appointments the executive council elected Prof. Williston Walker a member of the board of editors of the American Historical Review for the term of six years ending in December, 1925.

On motion of Mr. Moore, it was voted by the committee on finance that there be transferred from the appropriation for legal services the sum of \$150 to be placed to the credit of the committee on policy in addition to its original appropriation of \$150.

The secretary transmitted to the members of the committee on meetings and relations the following request from Prof. Morris R. Cohen, chairman of the research committee of the Peoples of America Society:

The Peoples of America Society is anxious to promote definite scientific knowledge on the questions of immigration and of the racial and social adjustments involved in the process of Americanization. We feel strongly that national policies in regard to these questions should be illumined by a greater amount of impartially ascertained knowledge than is now generally available; and we are, therefore, anxious to see the various scientific societies devote their energies to research in these problems. To this end we ask the American Historical Association to appoint a committee, to cooperate with similar committees appointed by the National Research Council and other scientific societies, to make a general survey of the sources of knowledge now available as to the problems of immigration and Americanization and to indicate the researches or investigations that might be undertaken.

The committee voted unanimously to recommend favorable action to the executive council.

The secretary transmitted to the members of the executive council the following recommendation from the committee on meetings and relations:

The committee on meetings and relations recommends that the council appoint two representatives to consult with representatives of the Peoples of America Society and the National Research Council in promoting investigations of race elements in American society. It is understood that the Peoples of America Society will assume the expenses of the investigation and that the arrangement shall continue subject to the approval of the council at its next regular meeting.

The council voted that the recommendations of the committee on meetings and relations be adopted and that the committee on appointments be instructed to appoint a committee of two to cooperate with the Peoples of America Society.

On motion of Mr. Moore and Mr. Bassett, it was voted by the committee on finance that, commencing on July 1, 1920, the salary of the assistant secretary-treasurer be \$1,800 per annum instead of \$1,500.

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## APPENDIX.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES.

Because of the leading part which the American Historical Association has taken in the organization of the American Council of Learned Societies, the following documents are printed in extenso:

*American Historical Association, Washington.—American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston.*

AUGUST 22, 1919.

DEAR SIR: The accompanying statement sets forth a plan, inaugurated in Paris last spring, for an international organization of the learned societies devoted to humanistic studies, parallel to the organization already effected in the field of the natural sciences. You will note that pursuant to action taken by a preliminary conference held in Paris in May a meeting of representatives of the various countries will be held in that city late in October for the purpose of effecting a definitive organization.

In order that the American societies may take part in this meeting it seems highly desirable to hold a conference of their officers or other representatives for the discussion of tentative plans which may enable them to have a full participation in the new international organization.

To that end the presidents and secretaries of the American Historical Association and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which were the only American societies represented at the May conference, take the liberty of suggesting that your society be represented at a conference to be held in Boston on Friday, September 19, at 11 a. m., in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at 28 Newbury Street. This conference must, of course, be quite informal, for it is realized that it will not be competent to take any binding action, and that officers or other representatives of societies who take part in it must in most cases do so on their own responsibility.

It is hoped that the discussion may lead to (1) the formulation of a tentative plan (to be presented in due time to the various bodies represented at the conference, and perhaps to others also), for the creation of some sort of an inter-society council or agency that will make it possible for the American associations to participate effectively in the proposed international organization; (2) the selection of two delegates to represent the United States at the October meeting in Paris; (3) the drafting of tentative instructions for the guidance of the delegates.

Prof. Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, who attended the Paris conference in May, will be present in Boston in order to supply full information respecting the proposed objects and activities of the international organization.

It is suggested that the objects of the conference will be facilitated if each society should be represented by its president and secretary and one other member.

This letter is sent to the secretaries of the societies included in the appended list, which is not, however, intended to be final, and additional copies of the letter and statement are inclosed for the convenience of the secretaries in communicating with the other officers of their respective societies. Further additional copies may be had upon request.

Please address all correspondence respecting the Boston conference to Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, at Newton Lower Falls, Mass. (during August and September).

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,  
*President of the American Historical Association.*  
 THEODORE W. RICHARDS,  
*President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*  
 HARRY W. TYLER,  
*Secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*  
 WALDO G. LELAND,  
*Secretary of the American Historical Association.*

American Philosophical Society.  
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences.  
 American Philosophical Association.  
 American Philological Association.  
 American Oriental Society.  
 Modern Language Association of America.  
 Archaeological Institute of America.  
 American Historical Association.  
 American Antiquarian Society.  
 American Economic Association.  
 American Political Science Association.  
 American Society of International Law.  
 American Sociological Society.

#### UNION ACADÉMIQUE DE RECHERCHES ET DE PUBLICATIONS.

#### *Proposed international organization of learned societies devoted to humanistic studies.*

On March 24, 1919, Monsieur R. Cagnat, permanent secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, addressed a communication to the academies and learned societies of the allied and associated countries devoted to studies in archaeology, philology, and history, inviting them to send delegates to a conference which was to be held in Paris in May, 1919, to consider a plan for organizing an "Interallied Academic Union."

In the project which accompanied the letter of Monsieur Cagnat reference was made to the dissolution, because of the war, of the International Association of Academies which had its headquarters in Berlin, and also to the organization in the fields of pure and applied science of a new international union, following conferences held in London and Paris late in 1918 upon the initiative of the Royal Society and the Académie des Sciences.

The objects of the union proposed by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres were set forth as follows:

(1) To establish, maintain, and strengthen among the scholars of the allied and associated States corporative and individual relations which shall be sustained, cordial, and efficacious, and which shall, by means of regular correspondence and exchange of communications and by the periodical holding of scientific congresses, make for the advancement of knowledge in the various fields of learning.

(2) To inaugurate, encourage, or direct those works of research and publication which shall be deemed most useful to the advancement of science and most to require and deserve collective effort.

As the result of the initiative thus taken by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres a preliminary conference was held in Paris on May 15 and 17 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, which was attended by the following:

Prof. Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, representing the American Historical Association and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Prof. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, representing the American Historical Association.

MM. Pirenne and Bidez, representing the Belgian Académie Royale des Sciences, Lettres, et Arts.

MM. Senart and Homolle, representing the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and MM. Rocquin and Boutroux, representing the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, of France.

Senator Lanciani and MM. de Sanctis and Patetta, representing the royal Italian academies of The Lincei and of Turin.

Prince Soulzo, representing the Roumanian Academy.

M. Svoronos, unofficially representing Greece.

Mr. Anesaki, unofficially representing Japan.

Although the British Academy reserved its formal adhesion to the plan until it should have fuller information respecting it, the president of that body expressed his sympathy with the proposal, and the Archaeological Institute of America, unable to be formally represented at the conference, likewise expressed unofficially its approval of the project in principle.

After full discussion the conference unanimously adopted a series of resolutions the substance of which is as follows:

I. In the present state of affairs resulting from the war it is desirable, for the purpose of international collaboration, to proceed to a new organization of the relations among academies and learned societies.

II. The purpose of this organization is the advancement by means of collective researches and publications, of studies in the fields of the philological, historical, moral, political, and social sciences.

III. The organization which is hereby constituted by the societies represented at this conference shall be called the Union Académique.

IV. The union is open to the learned societies of all the countries which are not excluded for an undetermined period because of the war (i. e., the enemy countries).

Admission shall be by three-fourths vote.

V. Each country shall be represented in the union by two delegates chosen by those societies of that country that are affiliated with the union.

VI. The assembled delegates shall constitute the executive committee. They shall consider and decide matters of general interest and especially the admission of new societies, plans of research and publication, and matters of finance.

They shall elect officers (un bureau) who shall preside at their various meetings, direct the general administration of the union, and be empowered to take necessary action between sessions and to convoke the committee.

The decisions of the committee shall be by majority vote except in the admission of new societies or the amendment of the by-laws.

Each country shall have two votes.

VII. The officers shall be elected for one year and shall be eligible for reelection, but not more than two times except after an interval of three years.

VIII. The permanent headquarters of the union shall be in Brussels, where there shall be established a secretariat, which, under the direction of the officers, shall conduct the current business and correspondence of the union, have the custody of its archives, and administer its finances.

The ordinary meetings of the executive committee shall be held in Brussels.

IX. The delegates shall meet in assembly as the executive committee at least once a year at a stated date.

X. Special meetings having the character of scientific congresses and celebrations to which the society belonging to the union shall be invited in a body may be held upon special invitation from an academy.

XI. The administrative expenses of the union shall be met from equal fixed annual contributions pledged by the participating societies.

The special expenses for research and publication shall be met either from funds secured or contributed by societies undertaking approved enterprises, or from funds or endowments at the disposal of the union.

XII. At least three months before the meeting of the executive committee projects which it is proposed to submit to that body should be laid before the societies belonging to the union in order that the delegates may receive instructions respecting them.

The proposers of any project should define it clearly, outline the general plan of work, estimate the expense, and indicate to what extent they themselves purpose to contribute to it, either scientifically or financially, and what degree of collaboration or aid they desire or are assured of. They may designate special agents for the presentation and discussion of their projects in the executive committee.

Any learned body which, with the assent of the committee, shall have assumed the support of any enterprise shall have full direction of it under the committee rendering an annual account of progress and expenditures.

XIII. The delegates present at the preliminary conference (May, 1919) shall be charged with communicating these resolutions and all other information to the societies which they represent. They shall also draw up a list of societies in countries (other than enemy) not represented in the preliminary conference, to which these resolutions should be communicated.

XIV. The delegates shall meet again in Paris in the second half of October next for the purpose of effecting, pursuant to their instruction from the academies and institutions which they represent and by virtue of full powers with which they will be provided, the definitive organization of the Union Académique. They shall likewise have power to submit to the vote of the committee the admission of the learned bodies which shall have decided to accept (*qui auraient fait acte d'adhésion*) the program of the Union, and to draw up in the order of importance the list of researches and publications which it may seem expedient to undertake in the various scientific fields.

With regard to the plan outlined above two questions present themselves to American scholars: (1) Is it desirable that America should be represented in an international organization such as the Union Académique? (2) How may such representation be best effected?

In the field of pure and applied science these questions have already been answered. The National Academy of Sciences was in a position not only to take an active part in organizing the union which resulted from the London and Paris conferences, but also, on its own initiative and authority, to represent the United States in the international group.

In the field of the humanistic studies, however, there is no single national body that would consider itself possessed of a mandate to represent American scholarship. There are, instead, a dozen or more national associations, each devoted to the cultivation of a single department of knowledge, which, although semipopular as to membership, are nevertheless governed in the interests of true scholarship and are properly entitled to be known as learned societies.

If America is to be represented at all in the Union Académique (as it is already represented in the scientific union) it must be through some joint action on the part of these associations. Without contemplating any close form of federation might it not be practicable to create some sort of intersociety council which should be thoroughly representative of the interests of the various associations and which should have power to act for them in such international matters as the selection and instruction of the two American delegates in the Union Académique?

Such a council, once established, would undoubtedly also prove of great utility in maintaining relations between the associations and in promoting cooperative undertakings, and in general would make for that solidarity of scholarship so essential to the advancement of learning.

Offices of the American Historical Association, Washington, August 22, 1919.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, HELD IN BOSTON IN THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1919.

On August 22, 1919, the presidents and secretaries of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association invited 13 representative American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies to send delegates to a conference to be held in Boston on September 19. The purpose of the conference was to consider what action should be taken by American societies to enable them to take part effectively in the new international Union Académique which was organized in Paris in May.

The conference was held in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on September 19 and was attended by 20 delegates representing 10 societies as follows:

The American Philosophical Society: Prof. William B. Scott, of Princeton University, president.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences: Prof. Theodore W. Richards, of Harvard University, president; Prof. Harry W. Tyler, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, corresponding secretary; Prof. Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University.



The American Antiquarian Society: Mr. Waldo Lincoln, of Worcester, president; Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, of Worcester, librarian.

The American Oriental Society: Prof. James R. Jewett, of Harvard University, director; Prof. David G. Lyon, of Harvard University, director.

The American Philological Association: Represented unofficially by Prof. James C. Egbert, Prof. George M. Whicher, and Prof. George H. Chase.

The Archaeological Institute of America: Prof. James C. Egbert, of Columbia University, president; Prof. George M. Whicher, of Hunter College, general secretary; Prof. George H. Chase, of Harvard University, member of the executive committee.

The Modern Language Association of America: Prof. Edward C. Armstrong, of Princeton University, president; Asst. Prof. William G. Howard, of Harvard University, secretary-treasurer; Prof. John Erskine, of Columbia University.

The American Historical Association: Dr. William Roscoe Thayer, of Cambridge, president; Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, secretary; Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, member of the executive council.

The American Economic Association: Prof. Henry B. Gardner, of Brown University, president; Prof. Allyn A. Young, of Cornell University, secretary.

The American Philosophical Association: Prof. Mary W. Calkins, of Wellesley College, ex-president.

Three other societies had been invited to attend the conference, but were not represented at the meeting: The American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Society of International Law.

The conference was called to order by Prof. Theodore W. Richards, president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, who welcomed the delegates in the name of the academy and made brief remarks respecting the objects for which the conference had been called. He then asked for nominations for the permanent chairman and secretary of the conference.

Mr. William Roscoe Thayer was chosen permanent chairman, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland permanent secretary.

Mr. Thayer took the chair and directed that the secretary call the roll, which was done, the attendance being as indicated.

The chairman then called upon Prof. Charles H. Haskins, who had represented the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association at the conference held in Paris in May to set forth the objects and scope of the Union Académique.

Prof. Haskins gave an account of the origin of the Union Académique and explained its purposes substantially as set forth in the circular which had already been distributed to the delegates. He pointed out that the organization of the union presupposed the existence in each country (as in England the British Academy) of a single body or group authoritatively representative of the humanistic studies. The United States, he said, was a striking example of a country having no national academy in this field, but having, instead, a number of strong voluntary societies, each devoted to a single field. He urged, therefore, that these societies should agree to form a group having some form of central organization which would enable the United States to take its appropriate part in the activities of the Union Académique. He cited the example of Italy, where the five independent academies have agreed to act as a unit in international matters.

During the general discussion which followed Prof. Haskins's remarks the following points were developed:

1. The encouragement of international congresses in different fields of learning would undoubtedly be one of the functions of the Union Académique.

2. The financial requirements of the Union Académique have not as yet been determined. The administrative expenses of the union are to be met by fixed annual contributions of equal amount from all countries represented in it. If an American union or council were to be formed it would pay this national contribution, assessing it in some equitable way among the societies belonging to it. The amount of the fee or contribution of each country would probably not exceed an amount which could be met by an assessment of 5 cents a member upon all the societies represented or invited to be represented in the present conference. The expenses for research and publication undertaken under the auspices of the Union Académique are to be met by voluntary contributions or from special funds or gifts, and no obligation not purely voluntary is incurred by any society with respect to this class of expenditure.

Further discussion brought forth a brief account of the organization of the International Research Council and of the National Research Councils upon which it is based, but it appeared that that form of organization, while well adapted to its particular purposes in the field of the sciences, can not serve as a model in the present case.

Upon motion by Prof. Whicher seconded by Prof. Scott, the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this conference that American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies should participate as a group in the Union Académique.

The conference then proceeded to consider the appointment of two delegates to represent the United States in the session of the Union Académique to be held in Paris about October 15. The names of several American scholars known or thought to be in Europe were mentioned informally, whereupon it was voted that the chairman should appoint a committee of three to nominate the American delegates. Messrs. Haskins, Young, and Erskine were appointed such a committee.

Later in the session this committee reported the nomination of Prof. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, and Mr. William H. Buckler, of Baltimore, as American delegates to the October session of the Union Académique, and recommended that they be given power to fill vacancies in the delegation, should such occur.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The conference next took up the consideration of instructions for the American delegates and after discussion passed the following votes:

*Voted*, That all projects of research or publication which societies desire to have presented to the Union Académique at its October session in Paris shall be transmitted to the secretary of the conference not later than September 28 for forwarding to the American delegates.

*Voted*, That until the action of this conference shall have been ratified by the bodies represented and an organization of the societies for national representation in the Union Académique shall have been perfected, the delegates are instructed that they have no authority to commit the American societies to any particular project, but should confine themselves to a cordial indorsement of the general plan by those present at this conference, and that any projects submitted to the delegates should be regarded as the suggestions of individual scholars.

*Voted*, That it is the sense of those present at this conference that some form of bibliography of humanistic studies should be approved as an international undertaking.

*Voted*, That this conference desires to express its deep interest in the subject of explorations and researches in Western Asia, and hopes that a scheme of cooperation may be considered by the Union Académique.

After a recess for luncheon at the University Club the conference resumed its session at 3 o'clock.

The question for consideration by the conference was the organization of some sort of inter-society council or agency for the purposes developed during the discussions of the morning session.

The secretary of the conference presented a draft of a convention for establishing an American Council of Learned Societies, accompanied by a form of constitution for such a council, and it was voted that the conference adopt this draft as a basis of discussion.

The draft was then considered article by article and various amendments to it were adopted, after which the convention and constitution were adopted in the following form:

#### AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES.

By agreement among the societies signatory to this convention there is hereby established a body to be known as the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, which shall be governed by the following constitution:

#### *Article I.*

This body shall be known as the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies.

*Article II.*

Sec. A. The council shall be composed of delegates of the national learned societies of the United States which are devoted to the advancement, by scientific methods, of the humanistic studies.

Sec. B. Each of the 13 societies herein named shall, upon ratification of this convention and constitution, be admitted to representation in the council: The American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Oriental Society, the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Modern Language Association of America, the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Philosophical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Society of International Law.

Sec. C. Other societies may be admitted to representation in the council by vote of three-fourths of all the delegates.

*Article III.*

Sec. A. Each society shall be represented in the council by two delegates, chosen in such manner as the society may determine.

Sec. B. The term of office of delegates shall be four years, but at the first election of delegates from each society a short term of two years shall be assigned to one of the delegates, and thereafter one delegate shall be chosen every two years.

*Article IV.*

The officers of the council shall consist of a chairman, a vice chairman, and a secretary-treasurer, who shall be chosen for such terms and in such manner as the council may determine, but no two officers shall be from the same society.

*Article V.*

The council shall determine its own rules of procedure and shall enact such by-laws, not inconsistent with this constitution, as it may deem desirable.

*Article VI.*

The council shall hold at least one meeting each year, which meeting shall be not less than two months prior to the stated annual meeting of the Union Académique.

*Article VII.*

The council shall choose such number of delegates to represent the United States in the Union Académique as may be prescribed by the statutes of the union, and shall prepare their instructions, and in general shall be the medium of communication between the union and the societies which are represented in the council.

*Article VIII.*

The council may upon its own initiative take measures to advance the general interests of the humanistic studies, and is especially charged with maintaining and strengthening relations among the societies which are represented in it.

*Article IX.*

Sec. A. In order to meet its own necessary administrative expenses and to pay the annual contribution of the United States to the administrative budget of the Union Académique the council shall, until otherwise provided, assess upon each society represented in it an annual contribution of not less than \$25, nor more, except as the minimum contribution, than a sum equal to 5 cents for each member of the society.

Sec. B. The council may receive gifts and acquire property for the purposes indicated above.

*Article X.*

The council shall make a report to the societies each year setting forth in detail all the acts of the council and all receipts and expenditures of money.

*Article XI.*

Identical instructions from a majority of the societies which are represented in the council shall be binding upon it.

*Article XII.*

The council may be dissolved by a vote of two-thirds of the societies represented therein.

*Article XIII.*

Amendments to this constitution may be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of the council and shall take effect when ratified by a majority of the societies represented in the council.

*Article XIV.*

This convention and constitution shall be presented to the societies named in Article II, section B, and shall be put into effect when they shall have been ratified by any seven of them.

Following the adoption of the convention and constitution there was a brief discussion of an informal nature respecting the addition of other societies to the 13 named in the constitution, but no action was taken in the matter, and it appeared to be the general opinion that the question of additional societies should be left to the council when that body should have been organized.

It was voted that the secretary of the conference be authorized to transmit the proceedings of the conference to the societies named in the constitution of the council, as the unanimous action of the conference.

The conference adjourned at 4.45 p. m.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,  
*Chairman of the Conference.*

WALDO G. LELAND,  
*Secretary of the Conference.*

Delegates: William B. Scott, Theodore W. Richards, Harry W. Tyler, Charles H. Haskins, Waldo Lincoln, Clarence S. Brigham, James R. Jewett, David G. Lyon, James C. Egbert, George M. Whicher, George H. Chase, Edward C. Armstrong, William G. Howard, John Erskine, J. Franklin Jameson, Henry B. Gardner, Allyn A. Young, Mary W. Calkins.

## DEFINITIVE STATUTES OF THE UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE.

Adopted in Paris, October 18, 1919.

[Translation.]

## I.

The learned bodies or groups of learned bodies belonging to the nations the names of which follow, and represented by delegates vested with full powers or duly qualified:

*America.*—American Philosophical Society, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Philosophical Association, American Philological Association, American Oriental Society, Modern Language Association of America, Archæological Institute of America, American Historical Association, American Antiquarian Society, American Economic Association.

*Belgium.*—Royal Academy of Sciences, Letters, and Fine Arts of Belgium.

*Denmark.*—Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters of Denmark.

*France.*—Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

*Great Britain.*—British Academy.

*Greece.*—Delegation of the Hellenic Government in place of the Academy of Athens, about to be created.

*Holland*.—Royal Academy of Sciences.

*Italy*.—National Academy of the Lincei of Rome, Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin.

*Japan*.—Imperial Academy.

*Poland*.—Polish Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

*Russia*.—Russian Academy of Sciences—

consider that it is desirable to regulate by means of a new agreement the cooperative relations among academies and learned bodies for the purposes of international scientific collaboration.

## II.

The purpose of this agreement is the cooperation in the advancement of studies by means of collective researches and publications in the fields of the sciences cultivated by the participating academies and scientific institutions: philological, archæological, historical, moral, political, and social sciences.

## III.

To this end the learned bodies and groups of learned bodies enumerated in Article I resolve to form themselves into a scientific federation which bears the name of Union Académique Internationale (U. A. I.).

By the word union they confirm the sentiments of friendly, trustful, equal, and free fraternity which inspire them and the federation.

The word académique applies first and foremost to the learned bodies properly called academies and having a national character; it includes also, either in default of academies or side by side with these latter and in agreement with them, the scientific institutions, which may be considered as assimilated to academies by reason of their national character, their scientific purposes, and the nature and method of their work, and which in each of the countries affiliated with the union have decided or shall decide to form a group and to assure themselves a joint representation.

## IV.

Each country, whatever the number of its academies or scientific institutions participating in the U. A. I., is represented by two delegates. These delegates are appointed in each country by the learned bodies or group of learned bodies affiliated with the union. The composition of these groups is left to the free determination of each of the countries belonging to the U. A. I. on condition that notice of it shall be communicated to the latter. Each of the national delegations as a unit is termed a member of the union.

## V.

The learned bodies or groups of learned bodies of the countries not included in the list in Article I should, if they desire membership in the U. A. I., indicate their wish either directly or by the medium of three members of the U. A. I. A majority of three-fourths of all the votes of the U. A. I. is requisite for the admission of new members. The ballot is secret and may be taken directly or by correspondence.

## VI.

The assembled delegates compose the committee or the union; they elect the bureau of direction of the U. A. I.; they consider and decide all questions of general interest, and especially the admission of new members, projects of collective research or publication, and the administration of the finances of the U. A. I.

The decisions of the committee are given by an absolute majority of votes except in the admission of new members and the amendment of the statutes, in which cases a majority of three-fourths is required. (Arts. V, XIII.)

Each member (national delegation) has two votes. In case of the absence for reason of one of the delegates the delegate present has a double vote.

Deliberations of the committee are valid only if more than one-half of the members take part.

## VII.

The bureau of the committee consists of the president, two vice presidents, a secretary, and two adjunct secretaries. It is elected for a period of three years; it is renewed by a rotation fixed by lot so that one president and one secretary retire each year.

The members of the bureau are eligible for reelection, but not immediately following the close of their term of office.

The same country may not be represented at any one time in the bureau by more than one of its delegates.

The bureau presides over the deliberations of the committee and sees to the general administration of the U. A. I. and to the advancement of its undertakings. During the intervals between sessions it is empowered to take such action as may be urgent, and if need be to summon a meeting of the committee.

## VIII.

The Union Académique Internationale selects the city of Brussels for its permanent seat. There is established there through the Belgian delegation an administrative secretariat, which is charged, under the supervision of the bureau, with the transaction of current business, with the custody of the archives, and with the handling of the ordinary budget for administrative expenses (Art. XI); eventually it shall be charged with handling the funds which may come into the hands of the secretariat at Brussels through gifts, legacies, or endowments for the undertakings of the U. A. I. The French language is adopted as the official language of the U. A. I. for correspondence and for administrative documents.

## IX.

The delegates assemble at least once a year in Brussels in ordinary session. At each meeting they fix the date of the following meeting. They may be summoned in extra session by the bureau if the latter deems it necessary.

## X.

Extraordinary meetings having the character of formal occasions, scientific or social, to which would be invited in a body the academies or assimilated institutions belonging to the U. A. I., may be held at any time upon invitation from one of the members of the union in any of the countries which belong to it.

## XI.

The Union Académique Internationale possesses a budget which includes two chapters—the ordinary or administrative budget intended for the expenses of the secretariat in Brussels; the extraordinary or scientific budget intended for research and publications. The first is maintained by a contribution which is equal for all the members of the U. A. I. The second is provided as need may arise by the members of the union who shall have undertaken the initiative and assumed the charge of researches or publications approved by the union, either at the expense of their respective governments or their own bureaus of direction, or by means of resources at the disposition of the U. A. I. or of endowments of which the latter may take advantage. Inasmuch as the diversity of legislation with respect to gifts may oppose an obstacle to their being received directly by the U. A. I., it would appear expedient that in each country gifts should be made to the learned bodies concerned, with special assignment to the U. A. I., or that, to the same end, they should be assigned to the permanent secretariat in Brussels.

## XII.

Projects of research or publication which it is proposed to submit to the committee should be communicated to the members of the U. A. I. at least four months before the meeting of the committee in order that the delegates may receive instructions and a definite mandate from the learned bodies or group of learned bodies which they represent.

Researches or publications may be initiated either by each of the members of the union, or by any of the learned bodies represented, or by the bureau of the union.

In all cases the proposers of an undertaking must present a precise definition of its subject, a statement of its purposes, a plan of work, and an estimate of expense. They must also indicate to what extent they themselves expect to contribute to its execution either scientifically or financially, and the collaboration or aid for which they ask or of which they are assured. They may designate special agents for the discussion of their proposal in the committee.

The learned body or bodies which shall have assumed, with the approval of the committee, the charge of a research or publication shall have the direction of it under the supervision of the committee; they shall organize the work, designate the place where it is to be carried on, select the collaborators, and bring them together when they deem it necessary.

If the proposal comes from the bureau, the committee, after having examined and approved it, determines upon the methods of execution. It names the special committees which are charged under its supervision with directing the researches or publications.

### XIII.

Proposals for amendments to the statutes must be presented by three members of the union at least four months before the meeting of the committee.

The vote on these proposals takes place under the same conditions as the vote on the admission of new members (Arts. V, VI), by a majority of three-fourths.

Signed:

W. H. BUCKLER,	
LOUIS H. GRAY,	
<i>United States of America.</i>	
H. PIRENNE,	
J. BIDEZ,	<i>Belgium.</i>
J. L. HEIBERG,	
OTTO JESPERSEN,	<i>Denmark.</i>
EMILE SENART,	
THEOPHILE HOMOLLE,	
EM. BOUTROUX,	
ARTHUR CHUQUET,	<i>France.</i>
FREDERIC G. KENYON,	<i>Great Britain.</i>
D. EGINITIS,	
M. KEBEDGY,	<i>Greece.</i>
C. VAN Vollenhoven,	
J. J. SALVERDA DE GRAVE,	<i>Holland.</i>
LANCIANI,	
G. DE SANCTIS,	
F. PATETTA,	<i>Italy.</i>
K. ONOZUKA,	
J. TAKAKUSA,	<i>Japan.</i>
CASIMIR MORAWSKI,	
JEAN ROZWADOWSKI,	<i>Poland.</i>
M. ROSTOVITZEFF,	<i>Russia.</i>

## REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

## A.

Abel, Annie Heloise.  
 Alvord, Clarence W.  
 Ambler, Charles H.  
 Ames, Herman V.  
 Anderson, Frank Maloy.  
 Andrews, Arthur Irving.  
 Appleton, W. W.  
 Attig, C. J.  
 Aydelotte, Frank.

## B.

Barnes, Harry E.  
 Basye, Arthur H.  
 Belden, W. P.  
 Becker, Carl.  
 Bell, Herbert C.  
 Bemis, Samuel F.  
 Benjamin, Gilbert G.  
 Benton, Elbert J.  
 Betton, Rev. Francis S.  
 Beveridge, Albert J.  
 Bingham, Hiram.  
 Black, J. W.  
 Blakeslee, George H.  
 Boak, A. E. R.  
 Bogardus, Frank S.  
 Bolton, Herbert E.  
 Bond, Beverley W., jr.  
 Bonham, Milledge L., jr.  
 Boucher, Chauncey S.  
 Bourne, Henry E.  
 Bradley, Glenn D.  
 Brandt, Walther I.  
 Bretz, J. P.  
 Brown, Marshall S.  
 Brown, Samuel H.  
 Buell, Bertha G.  
 Burr, George L.  
 Byrne, Eugene H.

## C.

Cahall, Raymond DuB.  
 Cameron, Janet G.  
 Carlton, Frank T.  
 Carrier, Lyman.  
 Carter, Clarence E.  
 Cathcart, Wallace H.  
 Chambers, Raymond.

Channing, Edward.  
 Chapman, Charles E.  
 Cheyney, E. P.  
 Christie, Francis A.  
 Clark, Arthur H.  
 Cole, Arthur C.  
 Cole, T. L.  
 Coleman, Christopher B.  
 Colgate, Lathrop.  
 Collier, Theodore.  
 Conger, John L.  
 Coulomb, Charles A.  
 Cox, Isaac J.  
 Crane, Verner W.  
 Crawford, C. C.  
 Crofts, F. S.  
 Cross, Arthur L.  
 Cruickshank, Ernest A.  
 Cumings, Mary M.  
 Custer, John S.

## D.

Dargan, Marion, jr.  
 Davenport, Frances G.  
 Davies, George C.  
 Davis, Arthur K.  
 Dawson, Edgar.  
 Dietz, Frederick C.  
 Dodd, William E.  
 Donnan, Elizabeth.  
 Douglas, Charles H.  
 Dow, Earle W.  
 Downer, Edward I.  
 Dutcher, George M.

## E.

Eddy, George W.  
 Edwards, Martha L.  
 Ellery, Eloise.  
 Elson, Henry W.  
 Esarey, Logan.

## F.

Fairbanks, Elsie D.  
 Fay, Sidney B.  
 Fellows, George E.  
 Ferrin, Dana H.  
 Ferris, Eleanor.  
 Fish, Carl R.

Fisher, Edgar J.  
 Foote, Alice M.  
 Ford, Guy S.  
 Foster, Herbert D.  
 Frayer, William A.  
 Fuller, George N.  
 Fuller, Mary B.

## G.

Garfield, James R.  
 Garrett, Mitchell B.  
 Gaskill, Gussie.  
 Gewehr, Wesley M.  
 Gibbons, Lois O.  
 Gillespie, James E.  
 Gipson, Lawrence H.  
 Godard, George S.  
 Goodwin, C. L.  
 Gras, Norman S. B.  
 Greene, Evarts B.  
 Gregg, Frank M.  
 Griffith, Elmer C.  
 Griffith, Mrs. Martha M.  
 Guilday, Rev. Peter.

## H.

Hall, William J.  
 Hamilton, J. G. deRoul-  
   hac.  
 Harding, Samuel B.  
 Hart, Albert B.  
 Haskins, Charles H.  
 Haworth, Paul L.  
 Hayden, Joseph R.  
 Hayes, Carlton J. H.  
 Hedger, George A.  
 Hershey, Amos S.  
 Hickey, Rev. Edward J.  
 Hickman, Emily.  
 Hicks, John D.  
 Higby, Chester P.  
 Hinsdale, Mary L.  
 Hinsdale, Mildred.  
 Hirsch, Arthur H.  
 Hockett, Homer C.  
 Hodder, F. H.  
 Hoover, Thomas N.  
 House, R. B.  
 Hubbard, H. A.



Hudson, Irby R.  
Hughes, R. O.  
Hunter, William C.  
Hurst, Edith S.

## I.

Inui, Kiyo Sue.

## J.

Jackson, W. C.  
James, Alfred P.  
James, J. A.  
Jameson, John Franklin.  
Jernegan, Marcus W.  
Jones, Guernsey.  
Jones, M. Myvanroy.  
Jones, Paul V. B.  
Jones, Mrs. Ralph A.  
Judson, Katharine B.

## K.

Kellar, Herbert A.  
Kellar, Mrs. Herbert A.  
Kelsey, R. W.  
Kerner, Robert J.  
Kimball, Edith M.  
King, Harold L.  
Klingenhagen, Anna M.  
Knaplund, Paul.  
Knight, George W.  
Knipfing, John R.  
Knowlton, Daniel C.  
Kohlmeier, Albert L.  
Kull, Irving S.

## L.

Landfield, Jerome.  
Landrum, C. H.  
Lapham, Martha.  
Lapham, Ruth.  
Larson, Laurence M.  
Latourette, K. S.  
Laughlin, S. B.  
Layton, J. E.  
Layton, Mrs. J. E.  
Learned, H. Barrett.  
Leebrick, K. C.  
Libby, Walter.  
Lindley, Harlow.  
Lingelbach, William E.  
Lingle, Thomas W.  
Lord, Robert H.  
Lowe, Walter I.  
Lyhyer, Albert H.

## M.

McCann, Sister Mary  
Agnes.  
MacDonald, William.  
McFayden, Donald.  
McGrane, Reginald C.  
McLaren, W. W.  
McMurry, Donald L.  
McNeal, Edgar H.  
Magoffin, Ralph V. D.  
Malone, Carroll B.  
Martin, A. E.  
Martin, P. A.  
Martin, Thomas P.  
Martin, W. G.  
Mendenhall, Kathleen.  
Mereness, Newton D.  
Merrill, Ethel L.  
Middlebush, Frederick A.  
Mitchell, James E.  
Mitchell, Margaret J.  
Moody, V. Alton.  
Moon, Parker T.  
Moore, Charles.  
Moore, David R.  
Moore, J. R. H.  
Morgan, William T.  
Myers, Clifford R.

## N.

Newton, Arthur Percival.  
Nicholas, Henry A.  
Norwood, J. Nelson.  
Notestein, Wallace.

## O.

Oestreich, Rev. Thomas.  
Oldfather, C. H.  
Oliver, John W.  
Olmstead, A. T.  
Orbison, Inez.

## P.

Page, Edward C.  
Paine, Mrs. C. S.  
Palmer, Herriott Clare.  
Paltsits, Victor H.  
Parish, John C.  
Patterson, David L.  
Paullin, C. O.  
Pautz, William C.

Paxton, Frederic L.  
Pearson, Henry G.  
Pease, Theodore C.  
Peck, Paul.  
Pelzer, Louis.  
Pence, Gwen J.  
Perkins, Clarence.  
Perrin, John W.  
Phillips, Ulrich B.  
Pierson, W. W.  
Platner, S. B.  
Pellard, Annie A.  
Potter, Mary.  
Priddy, Mrs. Bessie L.  
Putnam, Mary B.

## Q.

Quaife, M. M.

## R.

Ramsdell, Charles W.  
Randall, J. G.  
Randall, Mrs. J. G.  
Raney, William F.  
Reeves, Jesse S.  
Reilly, Drusilla M.  
Reuter, Bertha A.  
Riggs, Sara M.  
Riker, T. W.  
Risley, A. W.  
Robertson, James A.  
Robertson, James R.  
Robertson, W. S.  
Robinson, Edgar E.  
Robinson, Morgan P.  
Roseboom, Eugene H.  
Russell, Elmer B.  
Ryder, E. H.

## S.

Salmon, Lucy M.  
Schafer, Joseph.  
Schlesinger, Arthur M.  
Schmitt, Bernadotte E.  
Scott, Mrs. George.  
Severance, Frank H.  
Shambaugh, Benjamin F.  
Sharon, John A.  
Shearer, Augustus H.  
Sheldon, A. E.  
Sheperd, W. J.  
Shilling, D. C.

Shuart, Josephine M.  
 Siebert, Wilbur H.  
 Sioussat, Mrs. Albert.  
 Sioussat, St. George L.  
 Smith, Heman Hale.  
 Smith, Justin H.  
 Spaulding, Oliver L., jr.  
 Spencer, Henry R.  
 Stanclift, Henry C.  
 Steefel, Lawrence D.  
 Steele, Rev. James D.  
 Stephens, F. F.  
 Stephenson, Carl.  
 Stevens, Ernest N.  
 Stevens, Wayne E.  
 Stillwell, Lewis D.  
 Stine, O. C.  
 Stone, Mary H.  
 Storms, Albert B.  
 Sullivan, James.  
 Swain, Joseph Ward.  
 Sweet, William W.

## T.

Takagi, Yasaka.  
 Tanner, Edwin P.  
 Thayer, William R.  
 Thompson, Frederic L.  
 Thorndike, Lynn.  
 Thuner, Edna.  
 Thwing, C. F.  
 Townsend, Andrew J.  
 Townsend, Prescott W.  
 Turner, E. R.  
 Turner, Morris K.

## U.

Ulrick, Laura F.

## V.

Vander Vilda, Alice.  
 Van Tyne, C. H.  
 Vaughn, Earnest V.

## W.

Walsh, Annetta C.  
 Washburne, George A.  
 Webster, Homer J.  
 Westermann, William L.  
 Whiting, Williams.  
 Whyte, Alexander F.  
 Whyte, William M. E.  
 Wilde, Frederick E. J.  
 Wilson, Lucy L.  
 Wing, Herbert, jr.  
 Wittke, Carl.  
 Wood, George A.  
 Wood, Harlan N.  
 Woodburn, James A.  
 Wrench, Jesse E.  
 Wyckoff, Charles T.

## Z.

Zéiqzon, Maurice.  
 Ziegler, Samuel H.  
 Zook, George F.



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II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF  
THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., NOVEMBER 28-29, 1919.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSO-  
CIATION.

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Reported by WILLIAM A. MORRIS, *Secretary*.

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The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association convened in San Francisco at 2.30 o'clock on Friday, November 28, 1919, after an intermission of two years, occasioned by war conditions. The sessions were marked by the high average of excellence of the papers presented and by the decidedly representative character of the attendance. The annual dinner, as well as all the sessions, was held at the Clift Hotel.

In calling to order the first session, the president, Mgr. Joseph M. Gleason, referred to the fact that since the last meeting of the branch affairs of great importance have transpired. Not only does the period of these two years supply much matter for reflection and much material for record, but it is marked by the loss of prominent historical figures of the Pacific coast—Prof. Stephens, of the University of California; Prof. Cannon, of Stanford University; and the historians, Bancroft, Hittell, and Eldredge.

The opening paper of the Friday afternoon session was read by Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, and was devoted to "Japan's Leadership in Asia." Prof. Treat declared that the Japanese Empire is to-day the most powerful in Asia, and that this is not due to its population, since in this respect it is behind China and India. It is the most highly organized state—the state within which industrial efficiency is greatest, the state that possesses the greatest army and navy. All will probably agree that this is due to the assimilation of western ideas and methods. But Japan, at first an island empire, has no race antipathies, no language differences. Feudalism trained its people to obey their masters. The restoration of the empire in 1868 aroused intense patriotism.

The influence of Japan has not increased as consistently as her power. The former was greatest after the Russian war. Even conservative mandarins admitted that Japan had mastered the secret of national efficiency. Popular opposition to the partition of Bengal in 1905 had great influence in Asia. At this time even the Persian reformers found inspiration in Japan, and as far as the Dutch West Indies and the Philippines there was much admiration for her

measures. She was respected and admired by all well-informed Asiatics. To-day Japan is disliked by the Chinese and Indian nationalists. She has tried to crush out national liberty in Korea and has slighted China. She has proved too apt a pupil of the hated aggressor.

Prof. Treat held that the qualities that won Japan her leadership will gain it again. It is necessary that she alter her ideas of leadership. She must recognize that the year 1914 marks a watershed, a great divide; that people can not be held in check by force; that service must come to the front.

At every point the forces of progress in Japan have had to combat the forces of conservatism. Prof. Treat asserted that the liberal leaders will turn from dreams of empire to constructive leadership. In Japan brains rule to a high degree. When Japan shows she is to be trusted and not feared, then she will rise. This will call for the reassurance of China and a restoration of the national claims in Korea. It will meet the opposition of conservatism. Prof. Treat believes that Japanese statesmen will awaken to see that new lands are not necessary to industrial development, as proved by the case of Belgium. Japan aspires to be the Great Britain of Asia, and can be only as she abandons the earlier policy of Great Britain.

Prof. Joseph V. Fuller, of the University of California, followed with a paper entitled "A Prelude to the Austro-German Alliance: The Russo-German Negotiations of 1876." Prof. Fuller asserted that German complicity will not clear up the question of German responsibility for the war. German relations with Austria were shaped by the master hand of Bismarck, and as he shaped he brought results in 1914.

By the late summer of 1876 Russia, convinced that no settlement of the Bulgarian question by the consent of the powers was possible, sought assurance from Germany. She asked whether Germany could not hold Austria in check. Manteuffel returned to Livadia in the Crimea with the assurance. Russia sought that it be put in formal shape. Bismarck, angered with his attaché for transmitting the request, took his time for a reply, asking that the question be put in proper diplomatic form. In the meantime he told Prince Hohenlohe that Germany could not see Austria crushed. The ambassador to Russia was told that he could not answer the question specifically, since a third party was concerned. Russia had her choice: Austria was to have her price for the liberation of Bulgaria, or Russia was to face the combination against her.

Russia was to see more Slavic territory made over to the Hapsburgs. Bismarck carried the thing through to the congress of Vienna. He had underwritten the Austria foreign policy in the Near East. The Austrian Government came to understand the ulti-

mate effect. Bismarck openly held out Great Britain as the real aggressor. Nothing could obscure his refusal to Russia and his support to Austria. Ultimately Germany must be confronted with the naked fact of this policy. Germany might continue to ride two horses, but Austria was never in doubt as to which Germany would cling when they broke apart. Germany went still farther in the dual alliance of 1879, which became the corner stone of the plan of a Middle Europe and developed into a community of interests.

Why could not the game of 1876 and 1908 hold again in 1914? German officials were caught in a plan of their own making. What could it profit to complain that the Austrian note to Serbia was too severe and was not communicated earlier? Von Tirpitz said that Germany knew the virtual terms of Austria's ultimatum on July 13. Bismarck signed a blank check upon which his empire was called to make payment in 1914.

The third paper of the afternoon was read by Prof. Roy Malcolm, of the University of Southern California, and was entitled "Some Historical Projects for a League of Nations." Prof. Malcolm held that the idea of such a league was no new one. It appears in the *De Republica* of Cicero. Very rarely has the project been a truly world-wide one. It is inherent in the idea of Islam. It was the dream of the Medieval Empire, although the line was drawn against the infidel. The idea of world supremacy of the empire inspired Dante, but his *De Monarchia* was an epilogue instead of a prophecy.

The paper presented the main features of the "Grand Design" of Henry IV, and then gave the views of William Penn, who in his essay on "The Present and Future Peace of Europe," held that all differences between sovereigns should be brought before a higher power, and that he who refused to bring questions to a decision or submit to this decision should be made to pay the expenses so incurred.

Two eighteenth-century plans were then outlined. That of the Abbe de La St. Pierre proposed a union of all sovereigns so far as possible, especially the Christian sovereigns, which was to employ its whole strength and care to punish the guilty. No sovereign was to take up arms but against him who should by three-fourths vote of the senate be deemed the enemy of all European society. He who refused to abide by the decision was to be deemed an enemy and forced to pay the expenses incurred by coercing him, and to lose permanently any territory taken from him in the process. Emanuel Kant believed conditions of permanent peace to demand that in each case the laws imposed should be based on self-rule. It was undesirable to make many into a single state. There was to be universal hospitality for members of any state in a foreign state.



The plan of William Ladd in 1840 based the enforcement of the will of the court on the good will of the litigants; that of James Lorimer suggested in 1884 an international body of two branches. Lorimer proposed that each State pay its deputies and fix their term of office. An international court was to sit. On the civil side judgment was to be by majority vote. No State might declare war independently. The power that did so was to be in the status of an international rebel.

In discussing the paper, President Gleason showed that one phase of Lorimer's plan was put into force by The Hague Conference three months before the war, Germany being one of the nine participating powers.

The closing paper, presented by Prof. R. G. Trotter, of Stanford University, dealt with "The Federalization of British North America." Prof. Trotter pointed out that not until the middle of the nineteenth century was it possible for discussion of union to become more than academic. In 1849 federation was proposed by the British American League as an antidote to a temporary Canadian agitation for annexation to the United States. Nine years later came the first sponsoring of the proposal by a party in power in the Province of Canada, but there was still general indifference.

In the early sixties internal and external affairs became increasingly critical and demanded a radical remedy. In the Province of Canada sectional and racial rivalry was producing constitutional deadlock. The problem of opening the great West to general trade and settlement and maintaining British sovereignty there demanded action. The American Civil War emphasized the weakness of the Provinces and increased British desire to have them more closely organized for self-defense. The Colonial Secretary, Newcastle, visiting the Provinces with the Prince of Wales in 1860, had become an enthusiast over the economic and political development of British North America. Another English enthusiast was the Duke's friend, Edward Watkin, who hoped to restore the fallen fortunes of the Grand Trunk Railway and build up British power. His work brought colonial leaders into closer contact, and a transfer in the control of the Hudson's Bay Co. increased the interest of an influential group of English capitalists in the unification of British America.

In 1864 political deadlock in Canada led to the great coalition. A Federal scheme was shaped in "Seventy-two resolutions." Borrowing certain Federal devices from American example, this frame of government was in the main built on British and colonial precedent and postulated a maintenance of the British connection. The Canadian Legislature asked for an act of the Imperial Government embodying the proposals, but in the Maritime Provinces local prejudices at first prevented acceptance. However, a favorable reaction soon set

in, furthered by the British Government and stimulated by American economic hostility evidenced in the abrogation of reciprocity and by the menace of threatened Fenian invasion from the United States. In the winter of 1866-67, Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick sent delegates to London, where, on the basis of the Quebec scheme of 1864, a bill was drafted which was then enacted by Parliament. An opposition movement in the Maritime Provinces was ignored by the British Government and an offer from the new Dominion Government of better financial terms to the Provinces reconciled its chief leaders.

Federation was essentially the work of a few men, accepted by the people of the Provinces because of political crisis, economic pressure, and the fear of political and economic aggression from the United States, encouraged by the British Government in order to lessen its own burdens in defense and administration and to promote the consolidation and expansion of British economic as well as political interests in British North America. Federation made possible Canada's achievement of national autonomy as a partner in the British Commonwealth.

Before adjournment the president and the secretary both called to the attention of those present the advantages of membership in the American Historical Association, and the president announced the appointment of committees on nominations, auditing, and resolutions. The annual dinner was held in the evening at 6.30, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, presiding.

The president of the Pacific Coast Branch, Mgr. Gleason, took as the title of the annual address "Two World Conferences." Contrasting the present conference at Versailles with the Council of Constance, 500 years ago, he showed that both bodies were assembled to bring peace to Europe and to deal with social problems, the like of which Europe had not seen before. The great western schism by the beginning of the sixteenth century had disrupted Europe as never before. Europe had been virtually at war for 50 years. The peasantry was ground to the earth; morals had gone to the dogs. There was a realization that something must be done to save civilization. Mgr. Gleason also pointed out that the Emperor Sigismund, the strong man of the council, failed to carry out his plans.

The points of resemblance to the conference of Versailles as pointed out are, first, that the representatives consisted of both official and unofficial visitors. There were also experts at Constance, although only one ruler was in attendance. At Paris President Wilson was the only head of a state. When Sigismund came to Constance he took the reins in his own hands. So with President Wilson at Paris. At Constance there was a division of nations all under the thumb of a big four—Germany, France, England, and Italy—although later

Spain was also admitted. The Irish question was also brought up at Constance. At Constance the idealists from the University of Paris and elsewhere encountered a machine. The same selfishness and jealousy as at Paris were in evidence.

The opening address at the Saturday morning meeting, which began at 9.30 o'clock, was made by Prof. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California, who took as his subject "The Relations of the United States with Mexico since 1910."<sup>1</sup>

After designating the four periods into which Mexican history since 1910 falls—the rule of Diaz to 1911, the two years of Madero, the Huerta régime, 1913–14, and the rule of Carranza—Prof. Priestley spoke of the recent constitutional convention in Mexico and of its action affecting the oil interests of American citizens.

In conclusion he dealt with the question of possible American interference in Mexico, and said that only after complete pacification could real help be given to Mexico. We must be able to abjure territorial acquisition in compensation for loss of life and property. What is our proper course? Few things are sufficient to warrant actual war. National pride must not be evoked. Constructive statesmanship will be taxed to the utmost. Present conditions, however, may compel us to action against our better selves.

Prof. A. Harvey Collins, of Redlands University, followed with an account of "The Mormon Outpost of San Bernardino Valley." He showed that the settlement of San Bernardino Valley combined religious, territorial, and commercial motives. Brigham Young saw the whole California coast under the Latter Day Saints. In order to realize his dream, colonies of immigrants were founded here as outposts. The Pacific was the gateway through which foreign converts could be brought to Salt Lake City.

Prof. Collins devoted special attention to the Mormon Battalion of 500 Iowa Volunteers, formed during the Mexican War to aid in the conquest of California, under the command of Lieut. Col. Philip St. George Cook. They rendezvoused at Santa Fe, N. Mex., and the overland march was begun. On June 30, 1843, they arrived at San Diego, and after a rest of a few days the company was divided up. Those sent to Tehachapi became familiar with the climate of that region. A number of those who served in this battalion were impressed very favorably with the possibilities of farming on the Pacific coast and expressed a desire to form a colony there. President Brigham Young finally agreed. Capt. Jefferson Hunt and his two sons had been among the first to enlist in the Mormon Battalion. Being able to give definite information concerning San Bernardino Valley, he organized an expedition and led it through Cajon Pass into this valley. This colony settled on the Rancho de San Bernardino. The

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<sup>1</sup> Published in *The University of California Chronicle*, XXII, 47–60.

soil was very rich, and the people began to put in crops before the deed had passed to the new owners. Despite threatened Indian troubles the colonists by 1856 had become quite prosperous. The settlement was recalled by President Brigham Young in 1857, on account of trouble with the United States authorities. The complete evacuation of the valley was ordered. From 600 to 700 of the Latter Day Saints went back to Salt Lake City. In later years a number of these returned.

The concluding address of the morning was given by Prof. Levi Edgar Young, of the University of Utah. It was devoted to "Early Day Documents in Utah History," some of which were exhibited in facsimile.

Prof. Young spoke especially of the journal kept by David Pettigrew, chaplain of the Mormon Battalion, and of that of William Clayton, who was appointed historian of the command, with orders to study the flora and fauna and the types of Indians met; and of the journal of Robert Campbell, one of the secretaries of Brigham Young and territorial superintendent of schools in Utah. The memoirs of Harriet Young, wife of Lorenzo, the brother of Brigham Young, were also reviewed. Prof. Young suggested that the revelation of President Joseph Smith in the thirty's, in which he requested the brothers and sisters to keep a record of their experiences, probably explains the existence of so many Mormon journals. He also described the writings of Orson Pratt, a Dartmouth graduate and a philosophic writer, whose journal is in the possession of the Pratt family of Salt Lake; also the memoirs of his mother and her reference as a child of 11 to the Government expedition to Salt Lake, showing the Mormon fear of expulsion by the Federal authorities, and the determination to burn the city in case the troops should approach. Prof. Young spoke also of the archives in the State capital at Salt Lake and the records of the 19 city wards of Salt Lake City. Incidentally he asserted his adherence to the view that the name Utah comes from the Piute language and means "on the heights," or possibly "land of plenty."

After a brief intermission the president called to order the business session.

The resolutions committee, consisting of C. E. Chapman, Joseph Schafer, A. Harvey Collins, and Percy A. Martin, reported the following resolution which was adopted:

*Resolved by the members of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association,* That we deeply regret the irreparable loss we have been caused through the death of Henry Morse Stephens and Henry Lewin Cannon, and be it further resolved that the president of the branch be asked to appoint a member from the University of California and a member from Stanford University to draw up a suitable memorial to express our sorrow, copies of which should be furnished the Secretary and be spread on the records.

To serve upon this committee the president appointed Profs. Bolton and Treat. The special resolutions reported by the committee are the following:

*Resolved*, That in the death of Prof. H. Morse Stephens, Sather professor of history in the University of California, the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association lost its most distinguished member. A highly cultured gentleman of broad acquaintance, a widely read and versatile scholar, a distinguished specialist in portions of his field, a notable lecturer, and an inspiring teacher, he was withal a unique and outstanding personality in the world of historical scholarship. As one of the founders of the branch, a regular attendant at its sessions, and its best representative at the meetings of the parent association, of which he was president for a term, he contributed in superlative measure to the success of our organization.

*Resolved*, That the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association recognizes the great loss which it has sustained through the death of Henry Lewin Cannon on January 5, 1919. Prof. Cannon was a founder member of the branch, a faithful attendant at its meetings, a contributor to its programs, and a former officer. A thoroughly trained scholar, a careful investigator, and a suggestive teacher, he possessed qualities which had already won recognition and which would have assured a career of great usefulness. The members of the branch sincerely regret that they can no longer count upon his unselfish cooperation in advancing the work to which he had dedicated all his talents.

Further resolutions reported by the resolutions committee are the following:

*Resolved*, That in the death of Hubert Howe Bancroft the Pacific Coast of America has lost one of its most useful and uniquely picturesque pioneers. With enterprise unbounded and with audacious courage, he created the conditions which made possible the first scientific treatment of the history of one-half of our continent. His labors also endow the States and peoples of this coast with a priceless heritage of historical treasures, now placed at the disposal of scholars by the University of California. It is not our function to pass judgment, in detail, upon the histories produced under Mr. Bancroft's planning, management, and collaboration. But as heirs and beneficiaries in a special sense of the work which illustrates his enthusiastic devotion to a life ideal, it is fitting that this association should recognize the great debt which all workers in any portion of his field owe to Mr. Bancroft as writer, as publisher, and as collector of the far-famed Bancroft Library.

*Resolved*, That the members of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association feel a deep loss in the passing away of Theodore H. Hittell, an honored and enthusiastic member, and one whose writings added so much to the historical literature of the Pacific slope.

*Resolved by the members of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association*, That we deeply feel the loss from our number of Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, whose enthusiastic love of California, and whose many scholarly and interesting writings on the history of California have been an inspiration to us all and a lasting memorial to his name.

Resolutions were also adopted tendering to Archbishop Hanna, of San Francisco, and Bishop Cantwell, of Los Angeles, thanks for their letters agreeing to make all restorations of the California mis-

sions in accordance with the plans of the California Historical Commission, and tendering thanks to the press of California for its generous efforts in promoting the restoration of the missions; also declaring it to be the sentiment of the branch that the paper by Prof. Treat, entitled "Japan's Leadership in Asia," and the paper by Prof. Priestley, entitled "The Relations of the United States with Mexico since 1910," are of such timeliness as to make their publication highly desirable; commending to the history teachers' session the desirability of expressing definite views in the form of resolutions on the course of study proposed by the committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools; and directing the secretary of the branch to write such letters and take such other appropriate action as may be necessary to carry out the foregoing resolutions.

The auditing committee, consisting of C. V. Gilliland, C. L. Goodwin, and A. M. Kline, reported that they had examined the accounts of the secretary treasurer and found them correct and in good order.

The nominating committee, P. J. Treat, H. E. Bolton, Roy Malcolm, Joseph Schafer, and L. E. Young, reported the nomination of the following to serve as officers for the ensuing year: President, Levi E. Young, University of Utah; vice president, Robert Glass Cleland, Occidental College; secretary treasurer, J. J. Van Nostrand, University of California. Members of the council in addition to the above: R. L. Ashley, Pasadena High School; A. M. Cleghorn, Lowell High School, San Francisco; E. E. Robinson, Stanford University; W. J. Trimble, University of Idaho. Upon motion the nominations were closed and the secretary instructed to cast the ballot for the above nominees, who were declared elected.

On behalf of the University of Southern California an invitation was extended to hold the next meeting of the branch in Los Angeles.

The president elect of the branch, L. E. Young, was chosen official delegate to attend the meeting of the council of the American Historical Association in Cleveland.

In his concluding remarks as president of the branch, Mgr. Gleason expressed personal gratification at the number in attendance upon the two sessions and at the character of the papers presented. In a brief review of the work of the branch for the last 15 years he spoke of the labors of the two large universities that have fostered a spirit of research, and of the two departments of history and political science working toward establishing a school of western historical scholarship. He spoke further in appreciation of the work of H. H. Bancroft in attempting to gather the original materials of history. Said he: "We are the legatees of him and of men like him, and we have the encouragement and the making of

young men and women who are to be the historical writers of the future."

The teachers' session convened at 2 p. m., Prof. William A. Morris, presiding. The general question for consideration was history and education for citizenship in the schools. The session opened with an address by Prof. Joseph Schafer, chairman of the joint committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools, American Historical Association and the National Board for Historical Service, who spoke on the projected report of the committee on history and education for citizenship.

After calling attention to the fact that the committee had found California one of only three or four States in which there had been any considerable activity to reconstruct the history course in schools, he summarized the proposed report of the committee which divided the course of study into three parts—the elementary school course to the end of the sixth grade, the junior high school to the end of the ninth, and the senior high school to the end of the twelfth. He described the proposed elementary course as community history and American history and civics in elementary form. The junior high-school course consists of American history in its world setting, and in the ninth grade an innovation for which Prof. Schafer himself is responsible—a study of the activities of the American people in the present and historically along 10 great occupational lines.

In the third group we have the final study in high school which should consist of a group of courses enabling the student prepared to step out into civic life to make an intensive study of problems with which he will deal, as they find their orientation in the history of the country and the history of the world. This study will begin about the middle of the seventeenth century. If it can be done it would be advantageous to give a preliminary course covering world history from the beginning.

The portion of the course of study as proposed which has been most criticized is that for the first six grades. Here the committee took its suggestion from Prof. Henry Johnson. Mr. Johnson insists on two things as fundamental aims in history teaching: First, development of an attitude of mind toward society; second, the development of an attitude of mind toward historical material. What Mr. Johnson contends is that the two things mentioned can be secured through the teaching of history and not through the teaching of anything else in equal measure. Teaching children to read the newspaper effectively would accomplish for citizenship results which have never been accomplished. Our aim should be to afford children some help by way of shaping their minds in getting at the truth that is presented.

Prof. Shafer stated that it is his opinion these things can be done with very young students. A good many teachers have done them. Young children quickly pick up the elements of criticism. The idea of orderly evolution and change may not come by the end of the sixth grade. It may not necessarily come by the end of the college course, and many people go to their graves who do not yet sense the idea that human society has come to be what it is through an orderly process of change. When the child begins to reflect on things he will more readily get the idea than if his early training had been through the story of American history. By taking the history of the community from the beginning and then the history of the United States from the beginning, even if we turn the child out of school at the beginning of the seventh grade, when he reaches 15 or 16 he will look back over the system of facts and realize what it means.

Mr. William John Cooper, superintendent of schools in Piedmont, Calif., next presented a paper on the course for the first six grades. He said that undoubtedly Mr. Johnson's words would carry great weight, yet if he proposed to teach the newspaper it would be a good idea to teach by reading newspapers, and not something else. Other things should have weight. He doubted whether the orderly course in history would have results with all pupils. According to the Army tests the average drafted man brought before the examining boards could do work of no higher than the seventh grade. The committee should keep in mind that the group in the high schools is a selected group and not of average intelligence. The others drop out of school at the end of the sixth grade, when they have reached the level beyond which they can not do work. How much of orderly, systematic history can we put into this mixed group in the first six grades? At the expense of this orderly process of American history in which we come to 1600, 1816, or some other date, Mr. Cooper does not believe these are going to mean very much to the average child. Some may remember these facts, but the average child has no memory back of five years.

In laying out a course of history in the ordinary school we must remember that it will take a year and a half or two years for many to get through the first grade. It would be better to have a greater variety of material. In the fifth grade, or in some cases in the fourth grade, at the time of the presidential election the principles underlying elections can be taught. It is no use to wait until the eighth grade, when the students are not interested. A large number of topics should be outlined in the early grades as a suggestion to the students. Many people who work eight hours a day need some constructive suggestion for the use of leisure. If we can interest them in history so they will read it when they go out, they will learn more at that time than in school. Mr. Cooper would greatly



enlarge this by alternative courses, making a much more extensive course. On the civic side the child will learn to be a good citizen by being a good citizen. We are getting away from citizenship as a book subject. Also, a division should be made between a course that could be used in the graded schools and one that could be used in the ungraded schools.

A paper on the course for the intermediate grades was presented by Miss Elsie M. Wood, of the San Jose High School. Some of the main ideas presented are the following: There will be a considerable body of students passing from the eighth grade to the ninth grade because of the intermediate schools. There is no reason why the course of study should not be the same for the eight to four plan. In the seventh grade we should give the European background from the early seventeenth century to the constitutional period. In the eighth grade the constitutional period to the present time should be given. In the ninth grade we should give civics. In the seventh grade we have the early period of discovery. The beginnings of our land and liberty are central topics on which the work of the year turns. The distribution of topics has not been described, but more emphasis should be given to Massachusetts and Virginia social life and economic growth. In the eighth grade we have the development of natural resources, the westward movement, the growth of a national consciousness, the industries, and similar subjects. The Civil War is given in the first half year and the problems growing out of it in the second half year. In the ninth grade we try, first, to make the ideals of the American people part of the life of the student; second, to develop a constructive attitude in consideration of all problems which stimulate an interest to participate in community affairs; third, to present the subject as practically and concretely as possible. This is to be accomplished by research and the socialized recitation. Current topics should find a place here. We could carry our research rather widely, but not too deeply. The socialized recitation should be the best way to show the student his place in the community.

Mr. F. H. Clark, of the Lowell High School of San Francisco, in a paper on the course for the high school held that the needs of the growing child in the schools can not be overestimated. We in California have been inclined to go our own way. The committee of ten tended to fix standards in California when we were not ready for them and tended to cut off helpful experiments that were going on. This plan is essentially new in its aims. Mr. Clark believes the report will be received very favorably in California. Criticism would be largely with the work of the first division. The high schools can not take a decisive attitude until the matter is perfected in the lower schools. If in the first six years the teachers can find their way to bring about results, an attitude of mind toward society, and

an attitude of mind toward historical material, then the problem of the high school is solved. We can lay out any number of courses of history; if only the pupils can come to us with this previous training we will know what to do with them. The pupils come into the high school with a prejudice against history. The trouble is they have not had real history. As to the way in which the plan can be handled in the senior high school. The attitude in the California schools is that all academic subjects should come five times a week. This is largely due to the influence of the University of California which defines subjects in terms of units. There is an advantage in four periods instead of five. The student can take more subjects in the same time. A standardized course for the high school is not a problem for history teachers themselves, but for the whole school. Three years as a minimum requirement would mean that high schools would have to give up their plan of an elective system. This would not be possible in the upper years. One, two, three, or four recitations per week can be given. The difficulty is in providing conditions so that the student can get into a history course.

In the discussion which followed the reading of these papers Prof. Morris said that it is necessary for the child to have a knowledge of some history beyond that of his own country, and the question is whether this European history can be given satisfactorily in one year. Also, can United States history and civics be given well in one year?

Prof. Bolton then said that one of the difficulties we all seem to encounter is that boys and girls come into high school with a distaste for history. This is created by a course which is formalized and which follows the teacher's interest rather than the pupil's needs.

Miss Geraldine Hall spoke on citizenship, holding that we should try to treat better the content we have in training students for citizenship. It can be taught subjectively in every course in the curriculum. Teachers should be trained in good citizenship. We should not crowd too much content into a short space of time. A few problems well solved are better than many. History should not be treated as a descriptive but as a living science. Mr. E. E. Wood said that a great many students come into our high schools whose aim is vocational and who are not historically inclined. Those who go to high school for commercial and manual work will not have anything like three years to devote to history. American history and citizenship are necessary, and the course must be shorter than for the academic student. Citizenship must be taught in connection with vocations. A compulsory course one hour per week in the ninth grade and possibly in the tenth and eleventh grades should be considered.

Mr. Gleason spoke of his experience with men in the military and naval camps, and favored the teaching of citizenship in ele-

mentary schools. The sore spot is that, as Prof. Bolton said, we have so formalized our courses that the subject may become obnoxious to the student. The high schools must take the law into their own hands and put in four-hour courses instead of five. We should start teaching citizenship to the little child. The environment can be Americanized and the child will show a pride in living up to American standards. Through vitalization of the subject even a little child can be aroused.

Prof. W. Scott Thomas, of the University of California, spoke in approval of the plan outlined by Prof. Schafer. He said that teaching words to little folks is all that we have been doing. Some get the work with less effort than others, and there are so many different types of pupils that we can not say what the schools should give. We must get away from the idea that all students in all classes should have five hours per week.

At this point it was moved by Mr. Clark that the meeting indorse the general plan offered by Mr. Schafer's committee for the first two divisions of the course, and the outline for the senior high school under conditions making it possible for all students to take the minimum course. The motion was carried.

Continuing the discussion Mr. Cooper asserted that in his opinion the old committee of eight plan was better than this, and if this were to supersede the older plans the influence would be bad for a while at least; also he thought the course should be greatly enlarged.

Prof. Schafer then stated that he felt himself to be almost wholly in harmony with the discussion by Superintendent Cooper. He asked approval of the plan of the committee on education for citizenship in the schools, giving two hours per week in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. This work may be given advantageously without disturbing the plan of the committee of eight. Mild revisions may be made and alternative courses offered. In the Washington meeting there was a strong sentiment in the committee for administering the lower-grade course according to this earlier plan. If it is possible to teach arithmetic in an elementary way it should not be impossible to teach history in an elementary way. The committee intends to ask Mr. Johnson to prepare a syllabus, for teachers must have something to work by, and there must be a complete set of suggestions for selecting problems and working them out. In reference to the senior high school and the criticism of the plan by Mr. Clark, the speaker stated that the committee began with the idea that it might be possible to devise one, two, or three hour courses. The suggestion was put to the teachers and without exception they all said they must have five hours. The resolution should be put to the committee on some other basis than the five-hour plan.

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III. JOINT CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE WAR HISTORY  
ORGANIZATIONS.

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## JOINT CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE WAR HISTORY ORGANIZATIONS.

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The fifteenth annual conference of historical societies was held at Cleveland, Ohio, December 29, at 10 a. m., in the New Lounge of the Hollenden Hotel. The conference was a joint one with the National Association of State War History Organizations to discuss the general after-the-war questions.

The chairman, Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, being unable to be present, Mr. W. H. Cathcart, director of the Western Reserve Historical Society, took the chair.

The first topic presented was "The Preservation of War Material," the discussion being opened by Frank H. Severence, of the Buffalo Historical Society. He said that to most workers in local historical societies the topic suggested two kinds of war material to be preserved; first, material which belongs to a library; second, museum material. War souvenirs and relics suitable for preservation in an historical museum needed only to be selected with judgment. Museums were prone to load themselves down with rubbish. Small institutions, naturally, found it difficult to secure valuable collections, but the sort of material that would go into a museum was so obvious that it did not appear necessary to dwell on the subject further in this connection.

The historical society in adding war material to its library should keep in view the special needs of its constituents and the special phase of war activities in which its home community was most interested. Taking an average institution which is not State aided, in an average city, the speaker suggested that its collections should be made on the following lines:

First and most important, as full a record as possible of the war service of all the men and women in the home community, whether in Army, Navy, Marine Service, Aviation, Medical Corps, Hospital Service, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., K. of C., or other organizations. These records, based on the lists of the local draft boards, regimental muster rolls, and casualty lists as reported in the War Department Official Bulletin should be conveniently kept by a card system, classified according to service and indexed under each department with the name of the person whose card should bear his home address, his rank, and in the briefest form which would be clear, a

summary of what his service had been. Such classification would naturally fall under the heads "killed," "wounded or gassed," "in prison or missing," "honors won," etc. The full official citation for honors should be part of the record.

Special classification should be made according to the special interest of the community. To illustrate: In Buffalo, an important point for airplane manufacture, with an aviation field, it had been found worth while to record aviation events which touch Buffalo or were shared by Buffalo men. Each community had something of particular interest which should be thus fully recorded. It had also been found useful to supplement the card records with loose-leaf scrapbooks, in which newspaper clippings were brought together in form easy for reference. In the speaker's work it had been found useful to preserve miscellaneous material under headings, "War records of Fort Porter" (a local post which was used as a convalescent hospital during the war), "Mine sweepers built at the Buffalo shipyards," "Home defense," "Profiteers," "Grocers disciplined and fined," "Church activities," "Erection of memorials," and other phases of the four years of war, not forgetting the various Liberty loans and the war service of civilians, some of whom, from the speaker's home community had been summoned by the Federal Government to important service abroad, and others to act on commissions at Washington as "dollar-a-year men." A brief card entry of subject, with reference to an available newspaper file for details, is the simplest and usually the most satisfactory guide for the inquirer.

Other lines of preservative work would naturally occur to the practical librarian; among them the collection of pictures and of posters for the various loans and fund-raising drives; recruiting posters of this and other countries; official proclamations; and, in general, all available material which in the judgment of the librarian would have an historical interest in days to come. The map collection should be as full as possible. The music of the war, including published songs, and the poetry which embodied the spirit of the time, might well be preserved; and also moving-picture films recording departure or return of troops, patriotic meetings, war-time decoration of streets and buildings, unveiling of memorials, etc. These films require care in handling and a specially constructed depository, but are historical records worthy of the librarian's attention.

Every historical society library, no matter how small, should have an official record of the part its home community bore in the war. In Buffalo the historical society had cooperated with the city in compiling material to be published by the city. It would supplement this in its own publications.

Unofficial material needs to be sifted. In cities where there are several public libraries, circulating and reference, duplication of much material may be avoided by an understanding between librarians.

Mr. Frank M. Gregg, of Cleveland, continued the discussion with special reference to posters. He said he had in mind in his collecting a source library. He felt that in this war, as in no other, with the exception of the French Revolution, "the nations"—that is, the peoples—had taken part. There was a formula of the statesmen which was applicable—"people, propaganda, public opinion." Gustave Le Bon had emphasized the difference between the psychology of the individual, which is based on reason, and collective psychology, which is mental contagion based on emotion. For examples, Mr. Gregg showed two illustrated posters, one a British poster of the flag, arousing faith, another, of Bolshevism, arousing fear. It was the effort of those who used posters to develop the collective contagion of the peoples by arousing these emotions. Mr. Gregg said he was not interested primarily in the technique of the posters and in the art, but in the emotional effect on the people and in the creation of public opinion. He had at one time collected ephemeral material of the Civil War and had found it difficult to secure such material after the time of its issuance had passed. So on the first day of this war he had cabled to the agents of the American Express Co. in all the European capitals to collect for him the ephemeral material and additional propaganda. As a result he had collected over 100,000 items, none of them books, but all of the kind that comes through one's mail day after day and is then thrown into the wastebasket. He had also secured over 10,000 post cards, 30 volumes of photographs, phonographic records, and all of the songs and Christmas cards touching on the war published in this country; in fact, all the material possible which was used to create public opinion. This will be the basis of the history of the war in the future, for it was a war of psychology rather than of troops.

With reference to the character of the posters, Mr. Gregg thought that the parliamentary posters of Great Britain were superior to any, and that the best was Abel Faire's "We'll get them." The next best posters were perhaps the Italian. America was late in entering the war and in developing the posters. Our artists used the mass of colors and complex composition, but some of their posters were extremely effective. The Russian posters delighted and pleased, especially those for the last Russian loan. The Germans showed their psychology in their posters, as in other things. They absolutely failed to recognize the psychology of their own people. The design and writing were such that it could not be read across the street.



The composition depended on mass colors. Germany was the only nation that used futurist drawings for posters, and most of them were very crude. This German work is, however, just beginning to come through. The proclamations, of which Mr. Gregg has 500, are only convincing proofs of the mental attitude of the Germans, and confirm on their own evidence the atrocities practiced in Belgium and France.

Mr. Cathcart spoke concerning the work of the Western Reserve Historical Society in collecting war material. At the opening of the war in 1914 he had felt that war collections were out of the line of the society, but when the United States entered the war he had thought it a duty to gather material as far as possible. He was fortunate in having the Palmer collection of Civil War material as a magnificent guide in the matter of collecting, as it illustrated the kind of material that would be difficult to secure 20 or 30 years later. Posters and broadsides which stared one in the streets at the time they were published had disappeared months ago. The Nation was unprepared, the people uneducated in liberal giving and not trained to participate in loans; hence the efforts made by the Federal reserve branches should be preserved, and likewise the material put out by the welfare organizations such as the Y. M. C. A. and the K. of C. The books, such as regimental histories would be of value, but they would come later. Mr. Cathcart had immediately put himself in touch with the governors of the Federal reserve banks and had received every item issued by the banks during the war. He had gathered all the American posters possible but had done very little with the foreign posters. The mounting of posters and the care of photographs is a tremendous task, but at present it is more important to collect and save. As for medals, he had arranged with the Treasury and Navy Departments to secure a replica, at the cost of manufacture, of all those issued. He finds that there is no way of stimulating the interest of school children so well as by this collection. As for the records of the local men, he had not found it necessary to do as the Buffalo Historical Society had done, for in Cleveland the strong city commission had made records of all participants, and had done this far better than the society would have been able to do it.

Dr. A. H. Shearer, of the Grosvenor Library of Buffalo, continued the discussion on posters. He referred to some of the large collections in public institutions, as at Clark University, Princeton, the New York Public Library, Library of Congress, and Harvard, and to the fact that each had been working out plans for the care and preservation of this material. A committee of the American Library Association had already made a preliminary report. In the matter of preservation there had been various experiments as to the mount-

ing of material and the process to be followed. In classification there seemed to be general agreement in favor of arrangement by broad subjects, such as recruiting, loans, and welfare organizations, according to countries. In cataloging, the use of first words as worked out by Princeton will perhaps prove the best, as it is not always possible to identify the artists or author. Where the posters are illustrated this plan is almost imperative, but in the case of proclamations the standard arrangement in cataloging will probably be followed. The value of posters is both artistic and historical. Speaking from a knowledge of French posters, and in particular of the Edward Micheal gift to the Grosvenor Library, of which some 350 are illustrated, he said that the work of artists formerly the most prominent had been brought together with the work of artists who had made their mark through the war posters. The history of the war will have to pay attention to the posters, and in examining them interesting facts will be discovered; for example, that these posters had to have the approval of the Government.

Mr. V. H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, said that the library had tried from the beginning to procure a copy of each poster issued in this country and had secured foreign posters from its representatives abroad. Twenty-five thousand people a month had visited the exhibit. This poster exhibit has been superseded by Signal Service photographs, to which more people had come, sometimes several thousand in one day. The collection of war books and pamphlets is the best in America. The poster exhibit was introduced by a selection of broadsides issued in America from the time of the Revolution.

Mr. George S. Goddard, of the Connecticut State Library, said that Connecticut had gone in quite early for the collection of war records. By a special act of the legislature the governor could take a census, and in February, 1917, this census had been taken, including also an industrial and agricultural and automobile survey. This was turned over to the State library, together with the files of the State council for defense and of the local war boards. These had been arranged in vertical files by separate classes and by towns. Each war bureau in the towns had kept personal records of each person in service in duplicate. Connecticut had probably four-fifths of these on cards. There was also a special blank of four pages on file at Hartford, containing on the first page a man's personal record before he entered the war; on the next two pages his military record, including his promotions, wounds, etc.; and on page 4 what he thought of the whole business before the war, in service, and since. These are filed under towns. Every county has a number in the hundreds; for example, 100 for Hartford County, and every town is arranged alphabetically; 101 is Avon, and 114 is Hart-

ford. A roll of honor is sent to each town as a certificate of all its participants in the war. This roll becomes a table of contents of all the persons in the files under the respective towns. The library accepts gladly diaries and photographs of persons who have been in service. It is also collecting records of civilian service. There have been exhibits in the town halls and these have served to bring in important material. The Connecticut Commandary of the Military Order of Foreign Wars has turned over all its collections. From Capt. Brainerd, of Case, Lockwood & Brainerd, in Hartford, has come to the library a remarkable collection of foreign posters, all mounted on linen and in folders.

Dr. Albert E. McKinley, of the Pennsylvania War History Commission, was ill, but sent his paper, which was read by the secretary. It properly follows at this point, although it was read later in the program.

#### ARRANGEMENT AND CLASSIFICATION OF WAR HISTORY MATERIAL.

I. *Character of material received.*—Anything from a printed program to a 1,500-page typewritten report. Reports containing maps, and photographs of all sizes. Posters from a few inches to many feet in length. Photographs from cabinet size to one 30 by 40 inches, and many panoramic views. Printed reports from a few pages to many volumes. Letters of every description, bound reports of all sizes, thousands of cards of various sizes, honor rolls, etc.

II. *Arrangement.*—Various ways of arranging this material were examined, and after careful thought it was decided to place all matter in folders in filing cases, except posters, as it was believed that this method was cheaper and would prove more satisfactory.

Many of the subjects are subdivided into the 67 counties in Pennsylvania. Often there is only one report for each county, and this would take, if pamphlet boxes were adopted, 67 pamphlet boxes for every subject that was divided into counties. A drawer of a filing cabinet will often contain 300 to 400 folders, each containing a small number of reports, at a cost for storage many times less than if the pamphlet boxes were used, besides doing away with the cost of expensive shelving and saving a great amount of space. Besides, loose papers in pamphlet boxes settle at the bottom and become crumpled, and it is almost impossible to keep dust out of a pamphlet box.

If reports are larger than the folder, 9 by 11½ inches, they are folded, unless bound, in which case they are placed upon the top of the case holding the drawer containing the subject, and a reference calling attention to this publication is placed in the folder.

Panoramic views are dissected into sections, 11 by 8½ inches, backed, and filed in the folders.

Posters larger than the 9 by 11½ inches are placed in blue-print cases, the drawers of which measure 32 by 42 inches.

III. *Classification.*—The main thing to consider in relation to classification is the fact that our collections are not a finished product. It is preparatory matter, from which the historian, or researcher, will write his papers and print his books that must be given first consideration; and, furthermore, as already stated under the heading "Arrangement," some of the classifications that would be admirable were the material in bound form would be unworkable

in such a miscellaneous collection as is being sent in to war history commissions.

The numerical, alphabetical, and Dewey classifications were examined, and each deemed to have some objectionable features, and after a great deal of planning and study, the following classification was adopted as the practicable one for the class of material:

1. All material is placed in one of the 24 classes as follows:

1. Pre-war conditions.
2. Preparation for participation.
3. United States in war times.
4. United States administration in Pennsylvania.
5. Pennsylvania State Government in war times.
6. County and local governments in war times.
7. Military and naval participation.
8. Industries during the war.
9. Agriculture and food production.
10. Financing the war.
11. Transportation and communication in war times.
12. Commercial readjustments.
13. Social welfare and relief organizations.
14. Education as affected by the war.
15. Work of religious bodies during the war.
16. Labor and the crisis.
17. War work of the professions.
18. Public health under the conditions of war.
19. Women in the war.
20. Public sentiment before, during, and after the war.
21. Americanization.
22. Honor rolls, memorials, and parades.
23. Negroes in the war.
24. Reconstruction problems.

2. Under each class are the subjects, arranged alphabetically, which relate only to this particular class, while there are others which would be used in preparing material for one or more of the other classes.

Following each subject is a list of class numbers, showing the classes in which this subject should receive consideration. The particular class under which this subject is filed is given Roman numerals.

An asterisk in front, shows that the subject is subdivided into the counties of the State, and the # sign tells that these subjects are filed under this main class.

The following is a sample of a class, with the subjects filed under it, and the subjects related to it, but filed under other classes:

*IX. Agriculture and food production:*

- \* Agriculture, 2, IX, 10, 13, 16, 19, 24.
- Automotive transportation, 8, 9, XI, 12, 16.
- \* Banks and banking, 8, 9, X, 11, 13, 24.
- \* Colleges and universities, 7, 9, 13, XIV, 17, 20, 24.
- \* Commerce, 1, 9, 10, 11, XII, 16, 19, 24.
- \* Conscription boards, 2, VII, 8, 9, 13, 17.
- \* Dairy products, IX.
- \* Farm implements and machinery, VII, 9.
- \* Finance, 8, 9, X, 11, 12, 24.

- \* Flour and flour mills, IX.
- \* Food, IX.
- \* Food administration, IX.
- \* Fuel, VIII, 9, 11, 12, 16, 18.
- Horses, IX.
- Housing problem, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, XVIII, 19, 24.
- Labor and laboring classes, 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, XVI, 18, 19, 20, 24.
- Leather, VIII, 9.
- Liquor problem, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, XX, 24.
- Prices, 1, 8, 9, 11, 12, 19, 24.
- Profiteering, VIII, 9, 12, 16, 24.
- Taxation, 1, 8, 9, X, 11, 12, 20, 24.
- Tobacco, IX.
- Transportation, 1, 8, 9, 10, XV, 12, 16, 24.
- Wool, VIII, 9.

We have a list of subjects, and each report is assigned to one of these subjects. The number, or numbers, after the subject shows the classes under which the subject should be noted, and the Roman figure the class under which it is filed, as follows:

*Subjects into which the material is classified.*

NOTE.—Subjects marked with an asterisk are subdivided as follows: United States, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania counties.

Advertising. (See Publicity.)

Agriculture, 2, IX, 10, 13, 16, 19, 24:

Cattle.

Corn.

Domestic animals.

Farm management.

Fertilizers and manures.

Grain.

Oats.

Potatoes.

School gardens. (See School gardens.)

Vegetable.

War gardens. (See War gardens.)

Wheat.

Aircraft, VII, 8, 10, 17.

\* Alien enemy property, 3, 8, 12, XX.

\* Aliens, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 16, XX, 24.

\* American Red Cross, 2, 7, XIII, 19.

\* Arbitration, 8, 11, 12, XVI, 24.

Architects. (See Art, Architects.)

Artists. (See Art.)

Art, XVII; architects, sculptors.

Authors. (See Literature.)

Automobiles. (See Automotive transportation.)

Automotive transportation, 8, 9, XI, 12, 16.

Bakers and bakeries. (See Food—Bakeries and bakers.)

Banks and banking, 8, 9, X, 11, 13, 24, Federal Reserve Bank, X.

The same numbers mean the same class in every case.

IV. *Cataloguing.*—All reports, including illustrations, maps, etc., are catalogued under every subject in which they could be used and thoroughly cross

indexed. All names of persons, especially inhabitants of the State, connected with committees, etc., are indexed upon cards.

*War service records.*—These are arranged alphabetically by county, town, and name and are used for Pennsylvania men who enlisted in the service of the United States and the Allies, and for Red Cross, K. of C., Y. M. C. A., etc., workers who were in active service.

A separate folder is given for each person, and in this folder is placed his war service blank, photograph, letter, newspaper clippings, or any other information relating to the particular individual.

*Folders.*—We use the folders divided into four positions. The tabs designate the following: First position, enlistment in Regular Army; second position, enlistment in National Guard; third position, enlistment in Naval Reserves, Navy, or Marine Corps; fourth position, enlistment in welfare workers in active service.

*Rubber stamps.*—We use the following stamps, and stamp on the outside of the folder any information of this character contained on the service blank: Allied Armies; American Library Association; Army nurse; citation; died of accident; died of disease; died from effects of gas; died of wounds; dishonorable discharge; gassed; home defense; killed; K. of C.; Liberty loan; loss of sight; lost at sea; Marine Corps; missing in action; National Army; National Guard; Naval Reserve; Navy; prisoner; Red Cross nurse; Red Cross worker; Regular Army; Salvation Army; shell shocked; Society of Friends; Students Army Training Corps; volunteer; War Camp Community Service; wounded; yeowomen; Y. M. C. A.; Young Men's Hebrew Association.

This enables us to select the various groups, without the necessity of reading the war service records, many of which are illegible.

This arrangement and classification of material and service records will enable us to give to the writers all material contained in our archives relating to one class, one subject, or one group of service records, and also, in cases where county histories are desired, all material relating to that particular county, without the necessity of going over thousands of files to pick out those subjects relating to some particular group, subject, or county, and with the least expenditure of time and money.

The second part of the program dealt with plans for publication of war material. The first speaker was Hon. Arthur Kyle Davis, of the Virginia War History Commission. His paper was as follows:

#### PUBLICATION OF WAR MATERIALS.

The matter of publication brings up at once the question of survival values. It is a matter that demands catholic view and some novelty of treatment. The old standards of value in war history have become antiquated and new survival values are emerging. Almost at the very outset there is need for a readjustment of our traditional scale and estimate both of absolute and relative values of war history material.

There is a new world of history, in which we have no guide, no blazed trail, no chart, no compass. It is a new world of history, because it is the history of a world in a new kind of war—a war of embittered nations with every nerve and fiber of the national life, even every filament of civilian life, alive and tingling with the vital currents of war activity. The historian has to do with the brand new and astounding fact that even the small-beer chronicles of industrial and civilian life have become an essential part of the story of the

war. Banking and transportation, agriculture, and manufacture, even charity and religion, have become stated parts of a national war program.

The old modes of comparison, the old basis of pride, are broken down. Those gauges of patriotism and fighting spirit, the numbering of the hosts and the counting of the shekels, have been made obsolete by the new magic of the draft and quota. No State to-day may claim merit or plume itself unduly because it gave its quota of men or money. In fact, there is already something archaic in the reference in the current Scribner's to "the State which, with its population divided, boasts that in the Civil War it furnished more troops to either side than any other State." One may be perfectly sure that States will boast, but the boast must have a different basis. What we want to publish is the facts that give the best basis for State pride—facts that have best survival value.

This war was fought by the book of arithmetic, and an advanced book of arithmetic at that. The old and easy testing of efficiency by elemental methods of addition and subtraction is out of place in a war period where every national and State community and individual activity was conducted as a matter of course by methods of ratio and proportion. Since this uniform ratio and proportion was maintained in every part, nice discrimination is needed to choose that part of the record most worthy of preservation and of publication. Even the trained historian needs the proleptic mind for success in judging survival values in the history of this war. In the present uncertainty as to the relative value of military and civilian records, the only safe plan seems to be to gather all the facts of the many phases of these two aspects of the national life in war time.

So each State has set itself to the task of getting all the facts. We have put out a dragnet. We are searching the archives at Washington and we are seeking the scraps of history at every crossroad. We welcome with equal avidity the story of a division overseas or the story of a Red Cross drive at home. Food and fuel and morale and propaganda form history groups as authentic as munition making or shipbuilding and camps and cantonments. We include everything from war gardens to front line trenches, fearing to neglect any fact and fearing to magnify any specific set of facts. In this new history we are ignorant of survival values.

Almost each State commission must tell the full story of the reaction of the State to the stimulus of war. There the major reactions of the draft, training camp, the transport service, the S. O. S., the conduct of the troops at the front are told, but we must show also the minor reactions, the response of every filament of the embattled State as part of the Nation.

The publication of war material, then, calls for the publication of something of everything. The process of selection and the fixing of absolute relative limits for the publications will demand time and thought. On the one hand is the desire to have a seasoned history based on full records, and on the other hand is the desire to make a narrative sufficient and readable and complete before the present lively interest flags.

Virginia has faced this difficulty and has reached a decision on two basic questions. A definite plan for publication has been adopted.

On the 18th of November a resolution was passed that "in the publication of studies and narratives not less than 66 per cent of the total space (exclusive of the roster) be given to those men who actually bore arms or were in the auxiliary forces, and to those women who faced, in the field or in munition plants, the actual peril of life."

In view of the fact that the Virginia commission has more than a hundred local branches charged with the duty of collecting civilian as well as military data, this step is significant and interesting.

It was also resolved that "three volumes of approximately 600 pages octavo, each, be set tentatively as the published report of the commission," with the extensions to be made if necessary.

Thus it is planned to publish two volumes dealing with the military side to one volume dealing with the civilian aspect of war time, and it is planned to limit the present objective to three volumes or thereabouts. In other words, Virginia has come to a definite plan to publish a set of three (or perhaps more) volumes of readable matter of popular type, giving two-thirds of the space to military service.

These resolutions were passed after full debate and in the face of strong opposition. They seem to represent the opinion on the part of a majority that a condensed and readable narrative of the State's part in the actual warfare should be the present objective of the commission, together with the minor and even more condensed narratives of the auxiliary civilian activities.

As this is perhaps the first definite State plan for publication, it may be timely to outline more fully the status of the work in Virginia and to attempt to show the thought and purpose that form the basis of this action. The study of conditions in Virginia may be helpful in other States. There is no purpose to extol the plan, but simply to record the facts.

The first striking fact is that both of the steps taken—the condensation of the work into a few volumes and the stressing of the military side—seem to represent a reaction from the former action of the commission. While it is true that at the outset especial stress had been put on the collection of local records touching civilian as well as military matters, and that an indefinite plan for fifteen or more volumes had been mentioned in a general way, there can be little doubt that the recent action represented some impatience with a plan so vague and so broad; and also some impatience with the treatment of the local annals of civilian activities on the same basis as the military chronicles. The members of the body wanted something settled "here and now," as a professor of the university expressed it. Obviously it was felt that in deferring publication until full records should be available, valuable time and even more valuable enthusiasm would be lost. There was also the fear lest a ponderous collection of dry-as-dust chronicles might be the result of the labors of the body. The four points desired in the publication are (1) a war history, (2) a condensed history, (3) a readable story, (4) a history without delay. But this desire for a prompt, readable, succinct military history with civilian sidelights does not indicate that Virginia has called a halt in the collection and preservation of local material. On the contrary, the first of the series of resolutions mentioned urged the local branches in each city and county to collect "all possible source material." Nor was any essential feature of the plan changed.

Virginia is arranging a composite history under some 15 sections or topics. Each section or topic has a chairman and two associates charged with the duty of examining and editing the material collected by the local branches under his topic. If this plan is continued, as seems possible, the State will have a valuable series of source books collected and edited and preserved in local and central archives. Whether these source books will be published is not yet evident.



Thus the new plan of publication keeps the three essential features of the Virginia plan of collecting full military and civilian records through the local branches, of preserving these records in local and central archives, and of having this material treated by editorial groups under definite sections. The three volume history planned does not preclude the later publication of any number of source volumes that may be desired.

No appropriation has as yet been made for publication, nor has any appropriation been asked for this purpose. The legislature appropriated \$10,000 for the work of the commission under its published plan to collect and edit the records of Virginia and Virginians in the war, and the money is being expended to this end.

Finally, it may be of interest to show in detail the outline of the projected history, given in memorandum recently submitted by the editorial committee, as follows: .

*Volume I.—Military.*

	Pages.
The story of the draft, section 6.....	50
Virginia camps and cantonments, section 7.....	200
Navy and transport in Chesapeake Bay, section 5.....	50
Virginia soldiers and sailors overseas, section 2.....	200
Virginians of distinguished service, section 1.....	100
Total for volume 1.....	600

*Volume II.—Military.*

History of Virginia Organizations, section 6.....	200
War letters, diaries, and incidents, section 14.....	400
Total for volume 2.....	600

*Volume III.—Semimilitary.*

Pre-war conditions and activities, section 2.....	50
Virginia churches in war time, section 3.....	125
Virginia schools and colleges in war-time.....	125
Political contributions of Virginia, section 5.....	50
The Red Cross in Virginia, Section 12.....	50
War work and relief organizations, section 13.....	100
Financial contributions of Virginia, section 15.....	50
Post war conditions and activities, section 15.....	50
Total for volume 3.....	600

*Volume IV.*

Economic history of Virginia in wartime, section 8.....	300
History of Virginia communities in war time, section 9.....	300
Total for volume 4.....	600

Prof. Ben. F. Shambaugh, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, continued the discussion. He confined his remarks to the importance of the writing and publication of a contemporary history of America's part in the World War. It is evident that the materials of this war will be collected and preserved, and that trained

researchers will write and rewrite its history in the years that are to come. Is this enough? Or should there be compiled a contemporary history? Historians will doubtless answer that the writing of this war's history should be postponed for perhaps a generation; that the perspective of years is necessary to the highest success in such an undertaking. Admitting the truth of this answer, is there not also a place for a contemporary history written by trained historians? If there is to be adequate material for the writing of war history in succeeding generations, there should be prepared and published some reliable contemporary accounts. It is, perhaps, not far from the truth to say that if there are no contemporary histories of the war, one-fourth or one-third of the materials of war history will be lost forever. "Do it now" should be the motto of such agencies as war history commissions and State historical societies. The collectors of war history materials are doing excellent work, but the writers alone know what materials are indispensable when they actually come to write their narratives. Among the most valuable materials in the hands of historians in the future will be the contemporary accounts of the war compiled by trained research scholars and published by responsible historical agencies.

The conference of historical societies then took up the business of the conference. Mr. George S. Godard, of the Connecticut State library, was elected chairman. Mr. J. C. Parish, of the Iowa State Historical Society, was elected secretary. The committee appointed in 1907 to secure contributions and to supervise the work of making a calendar of the materials in the French archives relating to the Mississippi Valley could not present a formal report, so a statement was made by Dr. J. F. Jameson of the work done. Mr. Leland had supervised the work from 1908 to 1914 and had indicated the documents. The note taking, interrupted by the war, has been resumed and soon will be finished. The second stage, that of editing the material, is in process. The cost of completing the work, including the publication, will be greater than the amount raised. Only the process of note taking can be completed with the money collected. The editing has been done at the expense of the Carnegie Institution. This stage, it is confidently expected, will be finished during the present year.

It was moved and seconded that the committee be asked to present the status and plans for publication of this material at the next conference.

The National Association of State War History Organizations then went into business session, which was continued on Tuesday at 4 p. m.

Besides those mentioned, the following were also present: Gen. E. Cruikshank, of Ottawa; Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Indiana; Prof. C. W. Alvord, of Illinois; Arthur H. Clark, of Cleveland; Dr. N. D. Mereness, of Washington, D. C.; Dr. G. S. Fuller, of Michigan; Prof. H. E. Bourne, of Western Reserve; Morgan Robinson, of Richmond, Va.; Dr. James Sullivan, of New York; Prof. F. L. Paxson, of Wisconsin, Prof. Higbie, of West Virginia; Mr. Davies, of Cleveland; Prof. G. H. Blakeslee, of Clark University; Mr. Sharon, of Cleveland; and 44 others.

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IV. AMERICAN HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES DURING THE WORLD  
WAR.

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EDITED BY NEWTON D. MERENESS.

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# AMERICAN HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES DURING THE WORLD WAR.

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## INTRODUCTION.

A distinguished American educator, writing on the subject of scholarship during the World War, states that scholars in the human sciences "did not dominate the situation" as did scholars in the physical sciences; that they, "with distinguished exceptions, permitted the man in the street or the man in the editor's chair, or in Congress, or in the Cabinet, to proclaim his amateur pronouncement and to get away with it. The crises for the future," he warns, "will have to do with problems of human conduct rather than of the control of physical things; and as these crises come our scholars in human relations should be more ready to mobilize."<sup>1</sup>

The primary purpose of this survey of historical activities during the war has been the assembly of facts necessary to a stimulating comparison of actions and achievements in the field of history throughout the country, and particularly to draw more attention to the fact that in a crisis such as the recent one it may be even more important that historical scholarship should be mobilized for the winning of a war than for the doing of the things necessary to a history of that war.

Scholarship in the field of history is too unlike scholarship in the physical sciences for close comparison. But as for the measure of mobilization of history men in the late war, a brief summary discloses that shortly after the entry of the United States into the war the leaders of the historical profession established a National Board for Historical Service, primarily for the purpose of mobilizing historical scholarship for the education of the public with regard to the issues of the war; that a good measure of the more successful operations of the Committee on Public Information were under the direction of a historian; that a number of history teachers contributed to the war information series issued by that committee; that many were among its "four-minute" speakers. When the General Staff Committee on Education and Special Training began sending soldiers to colleges for vocational instruction and established the war aims course, two of the four inspectors of that work for the entire country were history men. Later 5 of the 12 division directors of the war issues course were history men. In the negotiation of a treaty of peace the services rendered by American historians were, perhaps, quite as effective as those rendered by the diplomatists.

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<sup>1</sup>F. P. Keppel "Scholarship in War," *Columbia University Quarterly*, July, 1919.

In many of the States there was during the war a history committee of the council of defense, and in most of them there is now a war-records or a war-history commission for the collection and preservation of war records and for the preparation of a history of the States' participation in the war.

The reports by States, which comprise the greater portion of this paper, were, with few exceptions, furnished by directors or secretaries of these commissions in response to an appeal contained in the following letter:

1140 WOODWARD BUILDING,  
Washington, D. C., January 23, 1920.

WAYNE E. STEVENS, *Secretary,*  
*War Records Section,*  
*Illinois State Historical Library,*  
*State Capitol, Springfield, Ill.*

DEAR DR. STEVENS: The National Board for Historical Service, at its last meeting in Washington, requested Mr. Leland, its secretary, to make arrangements for the preparation of an account of historical activities in the United States during the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, that were undertaken in consequence of the war, and for the publication of that account in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association.

Mr. Leland has asked me to assist in this matter, and in response I am seeking the necessary cooperation in every State in the Union. May I ask, then, that you be so good as to furnish us with the account for the State of Illinois? That there may be some measure of uniformity in the accounts from the several States I have prepared the following outline:

1. Historical research and the production of books for increasing the fund of historical knowledge regarding questions pertaining to the war.

2. The diffusion of historical information necessary to an enlightened public opinion regarding the issues of the war:

- (a) By the contribution of articles for publication in newspapers and periodicals.

- (b) By promoting the circulation of books and periodicals containing important historical information.

- (c) By lectures.

- (d) By teaching in schools and colleges.

3. Cooperation with the State council of defense, cooperation with the National Board for Historical Service, cooperation with the National Government in the prosecution of the war and in the negotiation of peace.

4. Preparation during the progress of the war of histories of the organization and operation of different branches of war service; for example, State and county food administrations.

5. The collection and preservation of war records.

6. Preparation for an early history of the State's participation in the war. Under this head it may be quite worth while in some States to contrast the so-called county history, produced primarily for the purpose of extracting the largest possible sum of money from the county, with the genuine county history prepared by a person with some historical training and for a much lower price.

The maximum space allotted in the report for the entire account, State and national, is about 200 pages.

Any suggestions from you for improving this outline will be most heartily appreciated. With keen interest in the subject and a justifiable measure of

State pride, who will say that we can not make this project a large success for the National Board for Historical Service, for the American Historical Association, and for the historical interests of every State in the Union? Will it be convenient for you to have the account for your State prepared by the 1st of April?

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. MERENESS.

It will be seen that Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of the outline relate to contributions toward the winning of the war, and Nos. 4, 5, and 6 relate to the collection and preservation of a record of the struggle. On the latter head an appeal was also made to historical branches of the Federal Government and to a few sectarian organizations. The historical sketch of the National Board for Historical Service is by Mr. Leland, its secretary, and the director of this project for a survey of war-time historical activities.

From some States repeated appeals for a report have brought no response, and from others not all was reported that was desired. The majority, however, responded graciously and effectively, and the editor is under lasting obligations to all who have participated in this cooperative performance.

#### WAR DEPARTMENT.

By OLIVER L. SPAULDING, Lieutenant Colonel, General Staff, Chief Historical Branch.

For several years before the recent war interest in military history had been steadily increasing among officers of the Army, and its importance had come to be more fully realized than before. This interest was greatly stimulated by the establishment of well-planned historical courses at the service schools, but the evolution had not yet reached the stage of developing a special historical organ when the war began.

In the spring of 1918 this organ made its appearance in the form of the historical branch, war plans division, General Staff. This branch at once began its collection of historical documents and prepared to make use of them. It was fortunate in securing the services of several historians of standing, who joined it, serving under emergency commissions.

It was evident that nothing could be done for a long time on activities abroad, but a beginning was made with activities in the United States. Sections were formed to deal with diplomatic relations and with the economic and military mobilization of the country and for the collection and preservation of photographs. A detailed and careful analysis was made of the ground ultimately to be covered which resulted in an outline suitable for a very complete history of the participation of the United States in the war. This out-



line, of course, was never considered to be a finished product, but remained always subject to current revisions.

To fill the blank spaces left in this outline for operations, a member of the branch was detached and sent to France. He was placed on duty at general headquarters in the historical section, General Staff, American Expeditionary Forces, and established its archives. That section passed through many vicissitudes, but succeeded in collecting a large quantity of documents. It was finally designated as the custodian of all historical documents which had ceased to be "live files" in the office of origin.

In the spring of 1919, more officers having become available on account of the termination of hostilities, the general headquarters section was much enlarged and undertook a considerable amount of field work. The ground covered by the most important of the American operations was studied and record made of all evidence found there which might assist in later interpretation of documents. This evidence was put in the form of maps, sketches, photographs, and written field notes. This work was undertaken only just in time, for while evidence of this nature was still plentiful, it was rapidly disappearing. The clearing up of débris and the plowing of fields was progressing with great rapidity—a most encouraging indication of early rehabilitation of the country.

Meanwhile, a similar historical section had been established, independently, at headquarters of the Services of Supply, and had been very active in collecting material dealing with every phase of that intricate organization. Original documents were accumulated or located in the files where they originated, and special historical summaries were called for from all services.

After the armistice, when the peace conference assembled, a representative of the historical branch was sent to Paris to follow its proceedings. A large mass of material on the diplomatic situation was thus obtained.

In June, 1919, these activities abroad ceased. Representatives of each of the historical sections there were brought to Washington and placed on duty in the historical branch, which was then reorganized on a greatly reduced scale for work on a peace basis. Its functions were to preserve historical documents relating to the wars of the United States; to make these documents, or the information contained therein, accessible to agencies of the War Department and to students and investigators properly accredited; and to prepare historical monographs on military subjects of interest to the War Department. To these duties has recently been added supervision of historical work of all bureaus and services of the War Department.

The archives consist of two departments—one for written documents and one for photographs. The collection of written documents

is not yet large, but is rapidly growing, and will become very important on the closing of general headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces, when all purely historical documents on file there will be added to it. It now includes all the original files of the branch dealing with activities at home; a considerable amount of diplomatic material; a valuable collection of papers of the services of supply in France; the files of the General Purchasing Board and of the American representative on the military board of allied supply in Paris; and a small collection of documents dealing with operations, including the field notes of the general headquarters historical section. The collection of photographs, both still and moving, is very large, including all official photographs of the Signal Corps illustrating the war with Germany and much private work; orders have recently been issued adding to it the Brady collection of Civil War photographs.

In connection with the archives a small bureau of information is maintained for answering inquiries on historical questions. These come in increasing numbers from agencies of the War Department and from outside inquirers. Lack of personnel prevents undertaking any considerable investigation, but when specific questions are asked an effort is made either to give the information or to indicate where and how it may be obtained. Facilities for research, somewhat limited as yet, are provided for properly accredited investigators.

Among the collecting activities of the archives, two are deserving of special mention here.

The connection between French and American units in operations was so close that it is impossible for us to form a picture of our own work without constant reference to French documents. Some of them are found in the files of the American units concerned, but by no means enough. Permission has therefore been secured from the French minister of war for a representative of the historical branch to work in the archives in Paris, and much valuable material is being secured in this way.

Strong efforts are also being made to secure personal narratives of participants in action. Superior commanders have been invited to contribute statements supplementing official reports and many are responding. To get the intimate detail of combat, a list of questions has been prepared and is being sent to selected subordinate officers and enlisted men. Their responses are coming in considerable numbers and are proving very interesting and valuable.

Relations have been established with the association of State historical bureaus. This will probably result in a marked growth of the demand for research facilities.

To make information really available, however, it is not sufficient to collect the documents. The files are accessible to few, and if they

were more widely accessible the papers would be destroyed by constant handling. It is necessary, therefore, to print and distribute them.

For many reasons it would be desirable to arrange certain documents relating to the recent war on the plan of the records of the War of the Rebellion—that is, classified according to military operations. But this involves waiting until the documents for the entire series are in hand, which will not be for many years. A different plan of classification has been adopted which permits beginning at once with any documents that can be collected and filling in the series gradually.

The general classification is:

- (A) Records of military operations overseas.
- (B) Records of the services of supply overseas.
- (C) Records of military activities in the United States.

Work has been commenced on class A. The detailed program is as follows:

*Records of the World War.*

**Class A.—Records of military operations overseas.**

**Section I. General headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces, France.**

- Vol. 1. Commander in chief's office.
- Vol. 2. Chief of Staff's office.
- Vol. 3. First section, General Staff.
- Vol. 4. Second section, General Staff.
- Vol. 5. Third section, General Staff.
- Vol. 6. Fourth section, General Staff.
- Vol. 7. Fifth section, General Staff.
- Vol. 8. Adjutant General's office.
- Vol. 9. Judge Advocate General's office.
- Vol. 10. Inspector General's office.
- Vol. 11. Chief of Artillery's office.
- Vol. 12. Chief of Infantry's office.
- Vol. 13. Chief of Tank Corps' office.
- Vol. 14. Chief of Air Service.

**Section II. First Army.**

- Vol. 1. Field orders and annexes.
- Vol. 2. Orders.
- Vol. 3. Intelligence summaries.
- Vol. 4. Operation reports.
- Vol. 5. War diary.
- Vol. 6. General orders.
- Vol. 7. Correspondence and messages.

**Section III. Second Army.**

Vols. 1 to 7 as in Section II.

**Section IV. Third Army.**

Vols. 1 to 7 as in Section II.

## Section V. First Corps.

- Vol. 1. Field orders and annexes.
- Vol. 2. Orders.
- Vol. 3. Intelligence summaries.
- Vol. 4. Operation reports.
- Vol. 5. War diary.
- Vol. 6. General orders.
- Vol. 7. Correspondence and messages.

## Section VI. Second Corps.

Vols. 1 to 7 as in Section V.

## Section VII. Third Corps.

Vols. 1 to 7 as in Section V.  
Sections VIII, IX, X, etc. One for each corps.

## Section —. First Division.

- Vol. 1. Field orders and annexes.
- Vol. 2. Orders.
- Vol. 3. Intelligence summaries.
- Vol. 4. Operation reports.
- Vol. 5. War diary.
- Vol. 6. General orders.
- Vol. 7. Correspondence and messages.

Will include the records of the brigades and regiments.

Sections —. One for each combat division.

## Section —. Miscellaneous units.

Vol. 1, part 1; vol. 2, part 2; vol. 3, part 3; etc., part 4 will include records of units which were assigned as Army or corps troops.

## Class B.—Records of Services of Supply overseas.

## Section I. Headquarters Services of Supply.

- Vol. 1. Commanding general's office.
- Vol. 2. Chief of Staff's office.
- Vol. 3. First section, General Staff, Services of Supply.
- Vol. 4. Second section, General Staff, Services of Supply.
- Vol. 5. Fourth section, General Staff, Services of Supply.
- Vol. 6. Adjutant General's Office, Services of Supply.
- Vol. 7. Judge Advocate General's Office, Services of Supply.
- Vol. 8. Provost Marshal General.
- Vol. 9. Director General of Transportation.
- Vol. 10. Director Motor Transport Corps.
- Vol. 11. Chief Surgeon.
- Vol. 12. Chief engineer.
- Vol. 13. Chief of Chemical Warfare Service.
- Vol. 14. Chief of Air Service.
- Vol. 15. Chief Signal Officer.

- Vol. 16. Chief Quartermaster Corps.
- Vol. 17. Chief Ordnance officer.
- Vol. 18. War Risk section.
- Vol. 19. General purchasing agent.
- Vol. 20. Renting, Requisition, and Claims Service.

Section II. Base section No. 1, Services of Supply.

Vol. 1, vol. 2, vol. 3, vol. 4, vol. 5, etc. Each section to correspond to the organization of the headquarters of the Services of Supply section.

Section III. Base section No. 2, Services of Supply.

Section IV. Base section No. 3, Services of Supply.

Section V. Base section No. 4, Services of Supply.

Section VI. Base section No. 5, Services of Supply.

Section VII. Base section No. 6, Services of Supply.

Section VIII. Base section No. 7, Services of Supply.

Section IX. Base section No. 8, Services of Supply.

Section X. Base section No. 9, Services of Supply.

Section XI. Intermediate section, Services of Supply.

Section XII. Advance section, Services of Supply.

Class C.—Records of military activities in the United States. To consist of the reports of the heads of departments and committees, together with the documents which were made public—e. g.:

- Vol. 1. Secretary of War.
- Vol. 2. Chief of Staff.
- Vol. 3. Directors of General Staff Division.
- Vol. 4. Adjutant General.
- Vol. 5. Inspector General.
- Vol. 6. Judge Advocate General.
- Vol. 7. Quartermaster General.
- Vol. 8. Director of finance.
- Vol. 9. Surgeon General.
- Vol. 10. Chief of Engineers.
- Vol. 11. The Construction Division.
- Vol. 12. Chief of Ordnance.
- Vol. 13. Chief Signal Officer.
- Vol. 14. Chief of Field Artillery.
- Vol. 15. Chief of Coast Artillery.
- Vol. 16. Director of military aeronautics.
- Vol. 17. Bureau of Aircraft Production.
- Vol. 18. Director of air service.
- Vol. 19. Chemical warfare service.
- Vol. 20. Chief Motor Transport Corps.
- Vol. 21. Militia Bureau.
- Vol. 22. Provost marshal general.
- Vol. 23. The Council of National Defense.
- Vol. 24. War Council.
- Vol. 25. The Students' Army Training Corps.
- Vol. 26. Commission on Training Camp Activities.
- Vol. 27. Committee on Education and Special Training.
- Vol. 28. War Credits Board.
- Vol. 29. Claims Board, War Department.
- Vol. 30. Real estate service.

A few of the papers of general headquarters were printed in France for limited distribution, but will ultimately be reprinted in this series. In selecting documents for publication efforts are being made to collect first those for which actual demand develops in the Army schools or elsewhere. Manuscript for five volumes has been sent to the Public Printer, as follows:

#### Section II. First Army.

Vol. 1. Field orders.

Vol. 3. Intelligence summaries.

#### Section VI. Second Army Corps.

Vol. 1. Field orders.

Vol. 3. Intelligence summaries.

#### Section IX. Fifth Army Corps.

Vol. 3. Intelligence summaries.

For the preparation of historical monographs the field is unlimited; as many officers and civilian writers as could be found could be kept busy for an indefinite period. It is only just beginning to be possible to undertake such work, and very few qualified officers are available. Relations have been established with the American Historical Association, and it is hoped that these may grow more intimate, so that historical workers in civil life may be led to take up military specialties.

In so far as the few officers of the branch are concerned it is necessary to limit the field; it still remains too broad. In the first place, work is being confined to the War with Germany. There is no present intention of preparing a complete "official account"; economic affairs must be omitted, except in so far as they may incidentally be drawn into question in connection with other investigations. This leaves, broadly speaking, three subdivisions of the work—mobilization and demobilization, including all activities in the United States, operations abroad, and the services of supply abroad.

The detailed plan in so far as developed is given below. Where a title is given without special mark the monograph is contemplated or in preparation; a title in italics indicates a monograph completed and awaiting publication; a title in italics with a star indicates a published monograph.

#### Section I. Narrative History of Military Operations.

##### A. The major operations of the American Expeditionary Forces:

1. "*Cambrai*"—*H. B. Monograph No. 5.*

2. "Somme Defensive and Lys."

3. "Aisne and Montdidier-Noyon."

4. "Champagne-Marne and Aisne-Marne."

4(a). "The Third Division on the Marne."

5. "Somme Offensive, Oisne-Aisne, Ypres-Lys."

5(a). "*Operations Second Corps in Somme Offensive.*"—*H. B. Monograph No. 10.*

6. "St. Mihiel."

7. "Meuse-Argonne."

8. "*Blanc Mont (Meuse-Argonne-Champagne)*"—*H. B. Monograph No. 9.*

9. "Vittorio-Veneto."

B. "Operations in North Russia, 1918-1919."

C. "Operations in Siberia, 1917-1920."

D. "Operations in Italy, 1917-1918."

## Section II. Studies of Services of Supply.

A. "*Organization of Services of Supply, American Expeditionary Forces.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 7.

B. "*Replacement of Personnel, American Expeditionary Forces.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 8.

C. "*Procurement of Supplies, American Expeditionary Forces.*"

D. "*Initial Equipment and Supply, American Expeditionary Forces.*"

## Section III. Special Tactical Studies.

\*A. "*A survey of German Tactics, 1918.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 1. W. D. Document No. 883, 1918.

\*B. "*A study in Troop Frontage.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 4, W. D. Doc. No. 992, 1919.

C. "*A study in Battle Formation.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 6.

## Section IV. Military Activities in the United States.

\*A. "*Economic Mobilization in the United States for the War of 1917.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 2, W. D. Document No. 885, 1918.

\*B. "*A Handbook of Economic Agencies of the War of 1917.*"—H. B. Monograph No. 3, W. D. Document No. 908, 1919.

## SECTION V. HISTORIES OF TROOP UNITS.

A. "Outline History of Divisions."

B. "Outline History of Regular Regiments."

The first and easiest work is to put into coherent shape the outline of each operation and of the service of each American unit and to make a general survey of the other fields—mobilization and the services of supply. This work, it will be seen, is well underway. The papers will be as short as practicable, but in sufficient detail to lead an investigator into any part of the subject which he may wish to study. Special attention will be given to citations of authority, and the aim will be to make the papers serve both as an accurate general statement and as an introduction to the documents.

Upon these will be based a series of monographs, each taking up some one particular feature of the basic papers and developing it. These, again, will serve, each in its own department, the same purpose as the general papers upon which they are based; they will bear the same relation to them, let us say, as the 1:20,000 map does to the 1:200,000. These should involve a considerable amount of critical study and should go somewhat deeply into the basic original documents. The purpose of each being limited, they can begin to use the magnifying glass; they can go beyond the operation report, perhaps, to the penciled message written in a shell hole.

These papers being so constructed as to serve as a further index to the documents, it is evident that the map scale may be again increased if desired. A smaller feature of any particular subject may be taken up and treated with greater elaboration of detail.

But historical work in the War Department is not limited to the work of the Historical Branch. While there is no other purely historical organization, many bureaus and services devote some attention to such work.

Shortly after the close of the war various services initiated steps toward the preparation of histories and reports dealing with their activities. When requests for authority to publish were received it was found impossible to grant

these requests, as some services contemplated the most extensive publication, including all their activities, both at home and abroad, in the greatest detail, while others contemplated no publication at all. So the entire matter was referred to the Historical Branch, which was directed to make a survey of all historical work already published and contemplated by the services. This survey brought out the fact that there was a great divergence of views and intentions among the services as to what class of material should be published and as to the amount of publication. One service, for example, had accumulated a mass of material amounting to several hundred volumes, giving detailed data on their entire field of activities, beginning with procurement in the United States and Europe and ending with operations on the field of battle. Other services, on the other hand, while they had collected certain historical documents, did not desire any publications whatever other than their annual reports. Some services had not undertaken a collection of documents relating to their war activities. The survey indicated that if each service were authorized to go its own way in the matter of the publication of its history there would result a great deal of duplication as well as omission.

To meet this situation the Historical Branch was directed to prepare a general scheme to unify historical publications of the services, and it was also directed to assume supervision and control.

The general scheme, as approved, may be outlined as follows: Each chief of service was directed to appoint a suitable historical officer, who would represent his service in all matters of historical publication. Historical publications were divided broadly into two classes—those that treated of the activities of one service only and those that treated of two or more services. Papers of the first class are to be prepared by the proper historical officer, with the assistance of the Historical Branch, and those of the second class by the Historical Branch, assisted by the interested historical officers. Papers of a purely technical character require practically no supervision from the Historical Branch other than in matters relating to form and bibliography, while papers with a tactical or strategic bearing, or those dealing with general policy, would call for a very close coordination. A conference was held at the office of the Historical Branch of all service historical officers, where the general scheme was explained, and each historical officer was requested to submit to the Historical Branch a general outline of publication to meet the requirements of his particular service, such outline including all important activities of historical interest. These proposed outlines are now being received and are, when necessary, modified to fit into a general scheme for all War Department publications.

Particular attention is invited to the above plan as it constitutes the first step ever taken by the War Department to unify Government publications of a historical nature. While the plan provides a system by means of which a supervision is exercised over these historical papers, nevertheless, it by no means limits in any way or discourages the services; on the other hand, it will result in many valuable publications that otherwise would not be prepared.

It is needless to say that these publications will conform to proper historical standards, and by no means the least value of this supervision will consist in the requirement that service publications shall be based in the future upon the best obtainable sources, and that such sources shall be indicated in the bibliography attached.

Somewhat akin to this work of War Department services is a custom now becoming established in the preparation of histories of troop units. The Historical Branch is preparing brief outlines, but many units desire to go



into detail. When any unit seeks information from the War Department as to its own history, it is becoming the practice to refer it to the Historical Branch; in many cases a representative of the unit comes to Washington, where the Historical Branch furnishes him desk room and facilities for research, and gives advice and guidance as to method and form. In this way histories of several divisions and regiments are being prepared conforming to accepted historical standards.

#### APPENDIX.

#### SURVEY OF HISTORICAL WORK UNDER PREPARATION AND CONTEMPLATED BY VARIOUS SERVICES AND DEPARTMENTS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

I. The following memo. was received by the Historical Branch, War Plans Division, on February 8, 1920:

FEBRUARY 6, 1920.

Memorandum for the Judge Advocate General.  
Subject: Survey of historical work.

1. The chief of staff has directed a survey to be made at once of the historical work being done in each of the bureaus and services of the War Department. It has come to his knowledge that a considerable amount of work has been done in connection with the preparation of historical matter for the majority of the services. He desires that this work be unified, so that the completed histories will fit into some general scheme, and he has directed that the supervision and control shall be under the Historical Branch, War Plans Division.

2. An officer of the Historical Branch, War Plans Division, will accordingly call upon you with regard to this matter. I request that you afford him facilities for acquainting himself with the work already done and with the plans in prospect. As soon as this survey can be made the necessary conferences will be held in order to arrive at a basis for carrying on this very important task.

(Signed)

WM. LASSITER,  
Colonel, General Staff,  
Acting Director, W. P. D.

Copies to Historical Branch; Chief, Coast Artillery Corps; Chief, Militia Bureau; Chief, Signal Office; Chief, Chemical Warfare Service; Chief, Construction Division; Quartermaster General; Chief, Transportation Service; Chief of Ordnance; Director of Air Service; Chief, Motor Transport Corps; Chief of Engineers; Chief of Field Artillery; Surgeon General of the Army; Inspector General of the Army; Adjutant General of the Army.

II. Pursuant to this memo. an officer of this branch visited the services enumerated above. This officer had an interview with the chief of service when such was practicable. When this was not practicable he saw the second officer in charge; and in every case he interviewed the officer engaged in historical work and examined such historical data as were accessible.

III. The following is a result of this survey:

#### *Coast Artillery.*

1. No historical matter has been published, and no definite steps taken with a view toward publication, but it is the intention of this corps to prepare a history of Coast Artillery activities during the war. The material for such a publication is on file, but not collated.

2. No personnel engaged in historical work.

#### *Militia Bureau.*

1. No historical matter has been published and no definite steps taken with a view toward publication.

2. The bureau is considering the preparation of a document giving an account of the use of militia during the war in the capacity of "Home Guards," referring particularly to the guarding of important manufacturing plants, bridges, tunnels, etc., in case of national emergency.

3. No personnel engaged in historical work.

#### *Signal Corps.*

1. This corps is preparing a roster of the corps personnel of all grades and ranks (commissioned and enlisted) that took part in the late war. Not for publication.

2. There was prepared a history of the Signal Corps in the American Expeditionary Forces (operations and services of supply), consisting of over 2,000 typed pages, illustrated. This is not for publication.

3. A history of the Signal Corps in the United States during the war was prepared, but is not for publication.

4. The annual report of the Chief Signal Officer, 1919, which has been published and distributed, was based upon the above-mentioned histories.

5. No personnel available for historical work.

#### *Chemical Warfare Service.*

1. No historical matter published and no publication contemplated.

2. The attached Exhibit A, secured from the Chemical Warfare Service, gives a list of historical matter compiled, showing number of volumes and contents.

3. The following remarks pertain to the compilations enumerated on this exhibit:

(1) One volume, 300 pages, a résumé of Chemical Warfare Service activities in the United States, typed, temporarily bound, and indexed.

(2) Very brief, 10 pages.

(3) This compilation covers the subject technically.

(4) Fifty-nine volumes, temporarily bound, typed, indexed with maps and charts. Many documents attached to text.

(5) Eleven volumes, bound temporarily, typed, indexed, map charts and documents attached.

(6) Brief.

(7) Six parts, maps, charts, and index.

(8) Fifteen parts, typed, maps, and charts.

(9) A personal narrative, prepared by Gen. A. A. Fries, 70 pages, typed, temporarily bound and indexed.

(10) Ten parts, each 50 pages, typed, maps, and charts; copies of supporting documents attached.

(11) One part, 20 pages, maps, charts, and copies of supporting documents attached.

(12) One part, 30 pages, typed; supporting documents attached.

(13) Fifteen parts, 20 pages each, typed; maps and charts attached.

None of the above compilation should be published in their present form. They should constitute material upon which to prepare matter for publication. This is also the opinion of Gen. Sibert.

4. The Chemical Warfare Service has published in technical magazines various monographs of scientific interest.

5. No personnel employed in historical work.

*Construction Division.*

1. This division has compiled 556 temporarily bound volumes, typed and indexed, constituting a detailed history of the organization, functions, and operations of the division during the war, including a complete history of each construction project. It is 98 per cent complete. Exhibit B is a table of contents.
2. Based upon the above, there has been compiled 17 volumes, temporarily bound, 200 pages each, constituting a résumé. None of the above is for publication.
3. Seven clerks, no officers, are engaged in completing the first-named work.

*Quartermaster Corps.*

1. No historical matter published and none contemplated.
2. There has been compiled and filed a short history of every activity of this corps during the war. A short résumé of this has been compiled.
3. Exhibit G is a copy of a memorandum sent to every industrial firm in the United States that had business relations during the war with the corps. The replies received are filed and will constitute valuable data in an economic study of the war.
4. Personnel: Two clerks.

*Transportation Service.*

1. The annual reports of the Transportation Corps, 1918 and 1919, contain all the historical matter published.
2. A publication is under preparation in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, edited by Capt. R. F. Wilson, which will constitute a history of transportation service operations during the war. It is based upon the two annual reports referred to above, also upon additional data now being furnished by this service. The title of this work will be "The Road to France." It will probably be a publication similar to "America's Munitions."
3. Personnel: One officer, no clerks.

*Ordnance Department.*

1. A series of monographs have been published and are in process of publication relating to various ordnance material used during the war. The subjects are treated historically and technically. The entire series will comprise 35 publications, 27 of which are partly or wholly completed. These are issued as confidential documents for circulation within the Ordnance Department only. Exhibit D is a list of these monographs.
2. There is under preparation a history of each ordnance district. There were 13 districts, 12 in the United States and 1 in Canada. When completed this will probably be published in one volume of 300 pages. This will be a popular publication, showing what ordnance material was obtained in each district and from whom. It may be classed as economic rather than technical.
3. Material has been collected for a history of the Ordnance Department in the American Expeditionary Forces. This material has not yet been edited.
4. Personnel: Six clerks.

*Air Service.*

1. Data on Air Service history may be discussed under three headings: (a) Bureau of Aircraft Production; (b) Division of Military Aeronautics; (c) Air Service, American Expeditionary Forces.

(a) The text has been completed, but no steps taken toward printing. Many supporting documents collected; two volumes.

(b) The preparation of this work has not progressed very far. Supporting documents are being collected; two volumes.

(c) This work was compiled in France and consists of 269 volumes, including maps, charts, and supporting documents. One copy of this work is filed with general headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces, which copy contains many original reports of squadron and group commanders.

2. Personnel: One officer, 11 clerks.

#### *Motor Transport Corps.*

1. Two works on the history of the corps are in process of preparation—(a) history of the Motor Transport Corps in American Expeditionary Forces; (b) history of the Motor Transport Corps.

The work (a) consists of motor operations with troops at the front and motor operations in the Services of Supply. It will consist of 17 chapters, probably 600,000 words, including the appendix. The appendix will be approximately 65 per cent of the entire work; maps, charts, plans, photographs, and documents are included. All of the chapters have been completed except four which are now in the following state of completion (Feb. 16, 1920): Chapter on supply, 60 per cent complete; chapter on repair, 15 per cent complete; chapter on literature of Motor Transport Corps, 95 per cent complete; chapter on conclusions, 20 per cent complete. Chapter 15 of this work is a bibliography.

The completed portion is typed and filed in folders. The text contains references to accompanying documents. The system of references should be improved.

The work has been read by Gen. Walker, who made certain corrections. Chapters on technical subject were reviewed by qualified technical officers, though this fact does not appear in the text. Chapters 1 to 16 may be classified as technical, in that they treat in considerable detail of Motor Transport Corps matters.

The work (b) is nearing completion. It will finally consist of two volumes of 2,000 pages in all.

A considerable portion of this work has already reached the printer, and first proof has been received for correction.

Of the entire work 60 per cent refers to American Expeditionary Forces' activities of the corps and 40 per cent to activities in the United States. The portion relating to American Expeditionary Forces' activities is based primarily upon the work (a). The work includes maps, charts, and photographs.

Col. Ireland, Motor Transport Corps, who is editing work (a), recommends that work (b) be completed at once, as it will be of considerable value to the corps, to the service schools, and to the motor-car industry.

Before publication this work should be examined to ascertain if references to supporting documents are complete.

2. Personnel: One officer, 2 clerks.

#### *Corps of Engineers.*

1. There was published, under date of July 8, 1919, but only recently distributed, a "Historical Report of the Chief Engineer, including all operations of the Engineer Department, American Expeditionary Forces, 1917-1919. There are 63 appendixes to this history, which were not published but are filed. They

consist of technical articles relating to particular Engineer activities, written by the officers who specialized upon the particular work.

2. There is on file a series of monthly reports on operations made by organizations (engineer) in the United States and American Expeditionary Forces, also voluminous reports on the engineer depot at Camp Humphries. The former consists of 36 temporarily bound volumes and the latter of 36 volumes. Both have maps and charts attached and are typed.

3. There was planned a final history of the Corps of Engineers, which was to consist of an account of the activities of each engineer organization. This work was never completed. The data to compile such a work is on file.

4. There is on file a series of "Reports of Individual Experience" of Engineer officers. These consist of personal narratives which all Engineer officers were asked to prepare. About 30 per cent of replies have been received.

5. A list of citations and awards has been prepared.

6. There is a "research file," consisting of reports made by Engineer officers upon new methods of engineering observed either in the Allied or German armies.

7. This corps has a collection of photographs taken by Engineer personnel, classified according to geographical localities and by organizations. This collection has been fully indexed.

8. No personnel in historical work.

#### *Field Artillery Corps.*

1. No historical matter has been published and no such publication is anticipated.

2. There are being compiled data of artillery organizations that served with the American Expeditionary Forces.

3. There is a file devoted to historical material on the operations of the School of Fire and Artillery Officers' Training School.

4. Personnel: Two officers, one clerk.

#### *Medical Corps.*

1. No historical publications issued.

2. A work is under preparation, entitled "Medical and Surgical History of the World War." It was suggested by a similar work prepared after the Civil War. Various selected medical officers have been assigned subjects concerning which they have special knowledge. An editorial board is charged with the arrangement of the material. This work will include 15 volumes of about 500 pages each. Exhibit E attached gives the subject matter of the chapters. The first three chapters will relate to tactical and administrative subjects. Five volumes will probably be completed by June 30, 1920, and thereafter one volume every two months.

3. Personnel: Two officers, three clerks.

#### *Inspector General.*

1. No historical material yet published.

2. A history of the Inspector General's Department during the war is now being prepared. It will probably not exceed 75 pages.

3. No personnel engaged in historical work.

*The Adjutant General.*

1. No historical publication written.
2. There is under preparation a record showing the participation of organizations in engagements during the war.
3. It is contemplated to bring Heitman's Register of the Army up to date.
4. Data is being prepared showing losses during the war, classified according to organizations and States.
5. A card system has been established showing the strength of Regular organizations at the end of each month. This is based upon the monthly returns.
6. No personnel for historical work.

**NAVY DEPARTMENT.**

By Capt. DUDLEY W. KNOX, United States Navy, Officer in Charge of the Historical Section, Navy Department.

The fact that publication of the naval records of the Civil War is not yet complete, perhaps indicates an apathy within the Navy respecting the recording of its history. In any event, American participation in the Great War had progressed for more than a year before any definite steps were taken toward naval historical collection. Stimulated by the admirably organized British Historical Section of the War Cabinet, which, under the eminent naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, had included the war activities of Navy, Army, and other governmental agencies since before 1914, Admiral Sims early recommended the formation of an American Naval Historical Section.

But it was not until June, 1918, that the Navy Department acted favorably upon Admiral Sims's recommendation, and even then only to the extent of forming an exceedingly small historical section in Washington, under the charge of Rear Admiral W. W. Kimball, retired. Notwithstanding repeated requests that the necessary personnel, including trained historians, be sent to London to undertake the collection of documents and data, Admiral Sims did not obtain the requisite authority to create an historical section of his staff until after the armistice was signed. On November 18, 1918, he received telegraphic instructions that, "owing to the signing of the armistice, it is considered too late to send an Historical Section abroad. Request that services of your staff be utilized as far as possible to collect data for naval history. \* \* \*" Accordingly, a section was then created in London in charge of Capt. D. W. Knox, assisted by a number of other active and reserve officers, among whom was one historian, Lieut. T. B. Kittredge, United States Naval Reserve Force.

Since demobilization was impending, and was expected to include the abolition of headquarters in London, the work of the His-

torical Section abroad was limited necessarily to the selection, copying, arrangement, indexing, and filing of appropriate documents from the voluminous and varied headquarters files. After preliminary study of French and British systems, it was decided to follow the latter closely. Selections were limited to papers relating to the operations of naval forces. All papers were arranged primarily by geographical areas, and placed in chronological order within each area. Subdivision by subjects, except for supplementary files, was avoided when possible, since the British were most emphatic in stating that any attempt to collect and permanently bind records by subjects was a mistake and would handicap historical writing greatly. Necessarily some documents, such as reports covering a long period of time, statistical data, etc., had to be filed by subjects; but the geographical-chronological system was followed as closely as practicable. This work occupied a large clerical force for about six months, after which the historical collection was transferred to Washington.

Meantime the Historical Section in the Navy Department, after adopting the system of filing used in London, endeavored to collect material through the various bureaus and offices of the department, and the other naval organizations elsewhere, ashore and afloat. But progress in this collection was exceedingly slow, owing to the handicap of very limited office force within the section, to the lack of funds, and to the reluctance of many offices to part with their files.

In July, 1919, the Navy Library, which had previously had cognizance of naval historical records, was transferred to the Historical Section; and under the act of March, 1919, Congress first appropriated money for the collection and classification of naval data relating to the late war. These two events enabled the section to make fair progress thereafter in its work, though funds, clerical force, and office space were still inadequate, and these deficiencies will probably prevent completion of the collection and filing of material in a form suitable for use comprehensively by historians for many years.

The historical archives are divided into three main branches—pictorial, logistics, and operations. The former includes photographs, posters, maps, charts, etc. The scope of logistics is so vast and the volume of documents so great that it would be physically impossible for the Historical Section to handle them. The plan has been adopted, therefore, of requesting each of the various logistic offices and bureaus of the department to preserve its own documents and to write the history of its own peculiar activities. Several monographs of this nature have already been completed. Since many logistic offices were abolished soon after the war, it will be necessary for the section to undertake some work in connection with

logistic documents. But work in connection with the operation files—that is, the selection, arrangement, filing, and indexing of documents pertaining directly to the distribution, employment, and movements of ships and other naval combatant units—is expected to constitute the principal task of the section.

The operations material is divided into five classes: Telegrams, general correspondence, war diaries, docketed papers, and statistics; and in each of these the geographical chronological system of arrangement is followed as closely as practicable.

The intimate relation between the operations of the American and French Armies is paralleled by a similar relation between the operations of the American and British Navies. Much research work in the files of the British Admiralty may be necessary before American naval history covering the Great War can be written accurately and comprehensively; and the interdependence of the State, War, Navy, and other departments of the Government renders further research at home, outside of the Navy, indispensable.

*General plan of files, Historical Section, Navy Department.*

[Memorandum prepared by Lieut. (j. g.) P. B. Whelpley, U. S. N. R. F.]

In order to give a clear idea of the work undertaken, the following summary is drawn up as representing the work that has been done and the scope of the work projected:

I. *Records*.—The primary task is the selection, arrangement, and indexing of those papers in the Navy Department files which have historical significance. Only such papers shall be selected for the historical files as deal directly with the naval operations of the United States Naval Forces. All papers, letters, and telegrams relating to operations will be chosen for the collection, no matter whether the individual paper may seem of importance or not. The papers selected consist of several classes, each of which may be handled in a slightly different way. These classes are: (1) General correspondence and reports; (2) cables and telegrams; (3) war diaries; (4) documents and special reports; (5) statistical and related matters.

1. General correspondence and reports are filed in three ways—by areas, by subjects, and by dates.

(a) The area files are divided into six series, and letters are filed, in general, according to the date of the event referred to in the letter, if the matter dealt with is an active operation; or according to the date of the letter if the subject of the letter relates to plans, policies, or general discussions of some feature of the military situation.

(b) The subject files are divided into 19 groups, and are arranged as in the area files, chronologically, according to the date of the event to which reference is made.

(c) The chronological files are divided into two classes—(1) letters, and (2) cables and telegrams. These are not yet complete, but expansion is always possible by the copying of matter on hand in other files.

2. Cables and telegrams will be filed in three ways—chronologically, by areas, and by subjects. In the subject file, cables and telegrams are filed with letters and reports, but in the area and chronological files they are separate.



3. *War diaries*.—From these diaries there has been made up a special chronological diary by days on cards. In addition to this card system the war diaries are being bound up intact and in such a way as seems most convenient for future reference.

4. *General files—Documents, reports, and special papers*.—In addition to the papers maintained in the historical chronological collection a file of documents and special reports of various kinds is being made. Those, for example, of intelligence publications relating to war operation are being included in this department of the collection and appropriately indexed. There is also included a complete set of such papers, as follows:

- (a) Weekly reports of force commander, European waters, to Washington.
- (b) Weekly reports from the detachment commanders.
- (c) Daily information bulletins.
- (d) Force instructions.
- (e) Circular letters.
- (f) Monthly roster of officers.
- (g) Weekly staff memoranda, heads of sections.
- (h) Admiralty daily reports of operations.
- (i) French daily antisubmarine bulletin.
- (j) Force commander's daily memorandum of admiralty conferences.

In addition to those named, there will be a number of others of a similar character.

5. *Statistical*.—Statistical and related matter is being collected and indexed thoroughly, and it is hoped that this class will form a useful part of the historical files.

II. *Indexes*.—The value of the historical collection will depend largely upon the completeness of the various indexes which shall be made. So far as it is possible to predict, these indexes should consist of the following:

- (1) A cross-reference subject index; (2) a chronological index of events; (3) an alphabetical index of events; (4) a general index of cables and telegrams.

1. For each series of papers there has been compiled a general cross-reference subject index. The headings under which subjects are indexed have been made a matter of careful study in order to insure uniformity and completeness in the indexing method. The matter has been arranged under several subject headings, and under appropriate subheadings so as to facilitate reference to all papers included in the collection relating to any subject on which information may be desired. This index is maintained on cards and includes references to all general correspondence, telegrams, war diaries, special reports, statistical data, and to any other matter, such as printed documents which may be included in the historical collection. In this way it should be sufficiently complete to permit one at a glance to determine exactly what information is available concerning any particular operation or event.

2. The chronological diary of naval events of the war prepared by Lieut. Whelpley is being enlarged both on paper and on cards, the former bound according to months, in temporary bindings.

3. The alphabetical index of events is the complement of the chronological diary, furnishing under names of persons, and vessels, and events, the same information given therein under dates. These together should constitute a quick reference to data pertaining to the Navy in the war.

4. The indexes of cables and telegrams sent from the Navy Department to London headquarters, and from the London headquarters to the Navy Department, have already been prepared.

## UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS.

By Maj. EDWIN N. MCCLELLAN, Officer in Charge, Historical Division, United States Marine Corps.

While the historical work of the United States Marine Corps began systematically on September 8, 1919, when the Historical Division of the corps was officially established under Maj. Edwin N. McClellan, considerable progress was made prior to that date.

Early in 1918 Maj. Theodore H. Low, in addition to his duties as the recruiting officer stationed in Washington, D. C., and with the assistance of the personnel of his recruiting office, voluntarily gathered certain historical material relating to the Marine Corps.

On February 28, 1919, Maj. Edwin N. McClellan was detached from Marine Corps headquarters and directed to proceed to France and report to the commanding general of the American Expeditionary Forces for assignment to duty as historical officer for the Marine Corps for the purpose of acquainting himself with all matters of historical interest to marines. Arriving at Chaumont, France, on March 13, 1919, Maj. McClellan received orders attaching him to the historical section, General Staff, general headquarters, American Expeditionary Forces.

Maj. McClellan divided his work into two general divisions: First, a study of all data on file at general headquarters, Second Division headquarters, Fourth Brigade of Marines headquarters, and included organizations of marines, and the records of the services of supply; and, second, a careful study of the ground in France, England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and Germany, where marines operated or were located. He was temporarily attached to the Fourth Brigade of Marines, Second Division, in Germany, from March 16 to 25, 1919, and June 21 to 27, 1919, engaged in this work. On various occasions he visited the marine battlefields in the Verdun sector, in the Marne salient, near Soissons, Marbache sector, St. Mihiel salient, Blanc Mont in the Champagne, and the Meuse-Argonne. He also visited the various points located in the services of supply where marines were serving or had served.

Maj. McClellan spent from May 19 to June 6, 1919, in visiting localities in the British Islands, such as Southampton and London, England; Rosyth, near Edinburgh, Scotland; Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands; Castletownbere, Bantry Bay, Ireland; and Cardiff, Wales, where marines had served either on board ship or ashore with the Navy.

On August 6, 1919, Maj. McClellan sailed from Brest and reported in Washington, D. C., August 20, 1919.

On August 23, 1919, the acting adjutant and inspector directed that the Historical Division of the adjutant and inspector's de-

partment be established and assigned Maj. McClellan to duty as official in charge.

On September 8, 1919, the major general commandant issued Marine Corps Orders, No. 53. This general order officially established the Historical Division with duties outlined as follows:

(a) To establish historical archives which shall be the depository for all material of a historical nature; that is, material from which administrative value has disappeared.

(b) To prepare a history of the United States Marine Corps for period of the World War.

(c) To revise and bring up to date the history of the United States Marine Corps.

Archives, including original documents and information from 1775 to the present date, were accordingly established and the work commenced on the preparation of a history for the World War. This work progressed so favorably that on November 26, 1919, a brief history called "The United States Marine Corps in the World War" was published preliminary to the final and detailed history of the United States Marine Corps during the World War in course of preparation. The first edition of this book, consisting of 50,000 copies having become exhausted, the major general commandant directed that a second edition of 100,000 copies, revised to as late a date as practicable, be prepared and published.

In addition to the above-mentioned history, the Historical Division has prepared and had published in various service magazines many articles referring to the history of the marines in the World War and in prior periods.

The work of revising and amplifying the present history of the United States Marine Corps is progressing steadily and within two years a history of the corps from 1775 to date will be published in several volumes.

#### STATE DEPARTMENT.

By GAILLARD HUNT.

In September, 1918, Secretary Lansing appointed Gaillard Hunt, special officer of the Department of State, to undertake the preparation of the State Department's history of the war. A small bureau was organized and the work has been continuously in progress since his appointment. The scope of the work is illustrated by the title "The history of the World War as shown by the records of the Department of State." While no printing has as yet been undertaken, several volumes of the work are ready for the printer. The plan contemplates a narrative account followed by the documents (all from the State Department's records) upon which the narrative is based. The work begins with the assassination of the Arch-

duke Ferdinand, followed by the outbreak of hostilities in Europe; the repatriation and protection of American citizens at the beginning of the war; the custody of the interests of the belligerents by American diplomatic and consular officers; this Government's peace proposals; contraband of war and neutral rights; progress of the war, etc. How many volumes will be required for the completion of the work can not at this date be prognosticated.

### THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

By WALDO G. LELAND.

#### ORIGINS AND ORGANIZATION.

The National Board for Historical Service was one of the organizations—the one most centrally located—which grew out of the desire and effort of historical scholars to render useful public service during the war. The idea of the board was evolved in the course of discussions by a small group in Washington during the first weeks of April, 1917, and was presented to a larger group in the form of an invitation from Dr. J. F. Jameson, director of the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution, to attend a conference in Washington on April 28. The object of the conference was thus stated:

The problem is one which has no doubt presented itself to the mind of every history man in the country. Many of them would doubtless be glad to spend a good deal of time in public service in war time, and most of all in service appropriate to their special acquirements, but are not in the way of hearing of useful tasks that they could undertake.

Our thought is that if the questions involved could be immediately considered in a preliminary way, by an informal conference of a dozen members of the profession representing different regions of the country and different aspects of history—American, European, economic, diplomatic—an organization might be devised by which all this store of competence and patriotic good will, instead of running to waste or lying untouched, might be systematically drawn upon to meet actual needs, felt or unfelt; of the Government or the public.

The conference thus called was held in the offices of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution on April 28 and 29.<sup>2</sup> A docket has been drawn up which stated the problem of the conference to be as follows:

(A) To provide a means for placing the historical scholarship of the country at the service of the Government.

(B) To utilize historical scholarship for patriotic and educational ends, and to enable it to do its part in providing the general public with that fund of accurate knowledge which is an essential basis of intelligent opinion.

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<sup>2</sup> The following were present during all or part of the conference: J. F. Jameson, who acted as chairman; W. G. Leland, who acted as secretary; Guy S. Ford, Frederic L. Paxson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Henry E. Bourne, Frederick J. Turner, George M. Dutcher, Charles D. Hazen, Charles H. Hull, James T. Shotwell, Albert E. McKinley, Gaillard Hunt, John C. Fitzpatrick, H. Barrett Learned, Edmund C. Burnett, Victor Clark, Thomas W. Page, and Edward G. Lowry.

(C) To secure the interests of history and of historical students by promoting the intelligent collection and preservation of historical materials, and in other ways.

In the course of the ensuing discussion it soon became clear that historians in all parts of the country had had the problem, as presented to the conference, very much on their minds. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, meeting two days before, had adopted resolutions urging that "means be taken by the Government of the United States to facilitate the sound historical instruction of the people of the United States to the end that a correct public opinion with full knowledge of the facts that have made for our freedom and democracy in the past may stand stubbornly in our struggle for the maintenance of those principles in the future." The department of history of the University of Wisconsin had drawn up, for discussion in the conference, a memorandum outlining the organization and functions of a "bureau of historical information" to be created under the Committee on Public Information, the general aim of which should be "to aid in the formation of a correct public opinion. to advise departments of Government needing historical data, to provide accurate data for writers and journalists, and to coordinate existing historical agencies." At Columbia University an organization of the faculty had already been effected and had commenced the publication of a series of "Columbia war pamphlets," the contents of which, however, were not confined to historical material. These examples but serve to illustrate the intense desire of historical scholars to find some way of rendering effective service of the nature for which their studies and special knowledge qualified them.

The conference devoted its attention principally to the consideration of the various kinds of service most needed and of the most effective means and organization for their performance. Each one present stated what he and his colleagues conceived to be most expedient in the region which he represented; Mr. Arthur Bullard presented the views of the Committee on Public Information as to the various ways in which its work could be furthered by historical scholars; Mr. Geoffrey Butler, of the British High Commission, who was present for a short time, explained what British scholars had been able to do along the lines under consideration, and Mr. Edward G. Lowry, experienced journalist and writer, made valuable suggestions as to practical methods of reaching the public. As the discussion progressed there appeared to be a striking agreement as to the needs which historical scholars might serve to satisfy. These were conceived of as, first, the education of public opinion with respect to the deep-lying causes and fundamental issues of the war and the reasons for American participation in it; second, the presentation of past national experience in so far as such experience

might furnish useful lessons for application in the present emergency; third, the supply of technical services to the Government; and fourth, the assurance for the benefit of future historians of the preservation of the documentary and other material essential for recording the history of the present time.

As to the most effective methods of meeting these needs there was a variety of opinion. For the first two, chiefly educational in character, suggestions were made respecting the supply of material, largely in the form of popular historical articles, to the daily and periodical press, the publication of series of small pamphlets or even of books, the organization of lecture courses, and especially the provision of instruction in schools and colleges. It was also suggested that the compilation of reliable reading lists respecting the war for the use of public libraries would furnish a guidance much needed and sought for at the present moment.

For the third, the supply of technical service to the Government, it was clear that future developments would determine the nature of such services and the most appropriate methods of rendering them. Preliminary inquiries of the Council of National Defense, of the Bureau of Education, and of the Committee on Public Information made it appear that aid to the Government would probably take the form of cooperation with the last two. As to the fourth need to be met, the collection and preservation of material for use in future research, it was evident that this object would be accomplished indirectly through suggestions to existing organizations and institutions, such as libraries and historical societies and other agencies, and through watchfulness with respect to the archives of the Government—Federal, State, and local—especially the records of the various branches of war administration already created or likely to be developed in the future.

The form of organization best suited to render the services which have been indicated, most representative of the historical profession and most likely to inspire public confidence, was a matter that was long and earnestly discussed. Although the American Historical Association was represented in the conference by some of its officers and councilors, these had no authority to establish a war organization of any sort in the name of the association. Indeed, it was the feeling of some, perhaps of most present, that the nature of the situation required that each one taking part in the work of the new organization should do so as an individual scholar engaging no other responsibility than his own. It was felt that no group could represent the historical profession in any formal way, but only those members of it who sympathized with the purposes of the group and who accorded it their support. It was realized that the new organization must necessarily be informal and unofficial,

without authority except such as it might acquire through deserving and gaining the support of historical scholars and the confidence of the public. At the same time the possibility that the American Historical Association might think best to substitute some other form of organization was not lost sight of and provision was made for such an eventuality.

With these considerations in mind the following resolutions were adopted:

As an emergency measure, to serve until action by the American Historical Association, the undersigned, meeting in Washington upon invitation by the Carnegie Institution of Washington through its department of historical research, have adopted the following resolutions:

*Resolved:*

I. That there be formed a National Board for Historical Service.

II. That the headquarters of the board shall be in Washington, D. C.

III. That the purposes of the National Board for Historical Service shall be:

(a) To facilitate the coordination and development of historical activities in the United States in such a way as to aid the Federal and the State Governments through direct personal service or through affiliation with their various branches.

(b) To aid in supplying the public with trustworthy information of historical or similar character through the various agencies of publication, through the preparation of reading lists and bibliographies, through the collection of historical material, and through the giving of lectures and of systematic instruction, and in other ways.

(c) To aid, encourage, and organize State, regional, and local committees, as well as special committees for the furtherance of the above ends, and to cooperate with other agencies and organizations, especially in the general field of social studies.

IV. That the board shall be composed of at least nine members who shall select a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and treasurer from their own number, and that the said board shall have power to add to its membership, to fill vacancies, to appoint advisory and associate members, to organize affiliated or subsidiary boards of committees, to receive and disburse moneys, and to perform such other acts as may be necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes herein stated.

V. That the board, until further action by itself in conformity with these resolutions, shall be composed of the following: Victor S. Clark, of Washington; Robert D. W. Connor, of Raleigh, N. C.; Carl Russell Fish, of Madison, Wis.; Charles D. Hazen, of New York City; Charles H. Hull, of Ithaca, N. Y.; Gaillard Hunt, of Washington; Waldo G. Leland, of Washington; James T. Shotwell, of New York City; Frederick J. Turner, of Cambridge, Mass.

Adopted at Washington, D. C. April 29, 1917:

HENRY E. BOURNE.  
EDMUND C. BURNETT.  
VICTOR S. CLARK.  
GEORGE M. DUTCHER.  
GUY S. FORD.  
CHARLES D. HAZEN.  
CHARLES H. HULL.  
GAILLARD HUNT.  
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

H. BARRETT LEARNED.  
WALDO G. LELAND.  
ALBERT E. MCKINLEY.  
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.  
THOMAS WALKER PAGE.  
FREDERIC L. PAXSON.  
JAMES T. SHOTWELL.  
FREDERICK J. TURNER.

The first effort of the board thus created was directed to enlisting the support of the members of the historical profession, and at the same time to securing from these latter information respecting the state of public opinion and suggestions as to the kinds of service most needed. Accordingly the following circular letter was sent on May 1, 1917, to 165 historical scholars in all parts of the country, informing them of the organization of the board and of its purposes, and asking for information and suggestions:

Last Saturday, at the invitation of the Carnegie Institution, extended through its department of historical research, a score of students of history gathered in Washington and, after discussing what such men might do in the present emergency, elected a "National Board for Historical Service," with headquarters here. This is a voluntary and unofficial organization of individuals spontaneously formed in the hope that through it the store of competence and patriotic good will possessed by the history men of the country, instead of running in part to waste, or even lying untouched, may eventually be drawn upon to meet the needs of the public or of the Government. To that end the board, as a first step toward preparedness, both for continuing war and for eventual peace, takes occasion to solicit the cooperation of interested persons, and the present letter is to invite from you such advice and suggestions as you may care to contribute. The organization of subsidiary State or local committees to work under the direction of the board is not, so far as we are now informed, desirable, and it is understood that in cooperating with us for any of the foregoing purposes you will be acting, as we did, upon your individual responsibility, and that the function of the board will be, for the present, to serve as a coordinating body between voluntary workers in the common cause.

The generalness of this statement is sufficient indication that much remains to be done in determining the ends toward which, and not less in ascertaining the material devices and the personal means through which, such voluntary work may be performed.

But it appears that a survey of the situation and needs of the country in this respect, as they present themselves to the observation of history men in various regions, is one of the preliminary steps, and it is for cooperation in this that we first appeal to you.

Among the matters concerning which your opinion in as definite a form as possible is especially desired are:

(1) What is the attitude of people, or of various classes of people, in your region toward the participation of the United States in the war? Are our purposes understood? As understood, are they approved? Where approved, what can be done to keep popular attention fixed upon them, to the end that our national idealism shall not perish in the conflict or yield to admiration of courage or of efficiency as ends in themselves? If our national purposes as understood in any degree fail of approval, by what argument, anywise historical in complexion, can they be so explained as to secure approval?

(2) How can such arguments or appeals be most effectually presented, by books or pamphlets, through the metropolitan or the local press, by speakers, or otherwise?

(3) What opportunities have you personally to procure the dissemination of appropriate matter, e. g., through your local press, through lectures to schools or to the general public, through libraries, or historical societies? Do you know any persons of historical knowledge and training in your region who have real



qualifications, either by experience in newspaper writing or in public speaking, for disseminating such information, and who could and would give time to doing it?

(4) Can you reach, or suggest some way of reaching, teachers before their vacations begin? Do you know of any summer schools, largely attended by teachers, the management of which would probably welcome lectures of such a character in case the board can suggest appropriate lecturers?

(5) In the conference many suggestions were made of subjects upon which useful articles might be prepared. The following may be instanced by way of example:

A. Historical aspects of war problems in the United States, e. g., raising and maintaining armies; exercise of war powers by the Federal Government; war taxation; economic adjustments; suppression of disorder; problems of transportation; supply and distribution of food, especially in the Confederate States; etc.

B. International and foreign problems, particularly those likely to influence American policy, e. g., Irish questions; conceptions of freedom of the seas; open door in China; enforcement of treaties; restatement of Monroe Doctrine; neutralization; American interests in Turkey; etc.

(6) Will you not make suggestions of other subjects, and possible writers?

(7) Have you knowledge of matter already in print (outside of such generally known material as would be noticed in the *American Historical Review*) that seems to be effective for such purposes? Where, specifically, may it be found?

(8) Do you know of any collections that are being made of local fugitive material illustrative of the war, especially of the attitude of sections of your community or region toward it? Are you in a position to encourage the making of such collections? Where and how?

(9) Do you know of any funds available for the actual and necessary expense of any parts of such an undertaking as has been suggested, either nationally or locally?

Will you not consult, especially as to regional needs and probable attitudes of mind, such of your colleagues or acquaintances as may be able to give useful advice on any of the points mentioned, or on any others pertinent to the general purposes of the board, and send the results, as promptly as practicable, to Waldo G. Leland, secretary, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.?

The board will then endeavor to draw from the replies a statement of definite needs and possibilities, and will presently communicate with you again.

The response to this letter was most encouraging; not only did it indicate an almost unanimous approval of the purposes of the board and give promise of support and cooperation, but it furnished a large body of information relative to the state of mind of the country and the needs of the moment as well as a variety of practical and valuable suggestions.

Thus fortified the board was in a position to formulate the policy which was to guide it throughout its existence. This policy may be described briefly as follows: To maintain the nonofficial character of the board as a group of individual scholars each representing only himself; not to organize branches but to encourage or cooperate with regional or local groups having similar objects which might be created; to maintain a close contact with members of the histori-

cal profession in all parts of the country by informing them frequently of the work of the board and by proposing to them certain activities or calling upon them for services; not to express opinions or judgments as a board nor to attempt to establish standards of historical orthodoxy; not to publish pamphlets, articles, or books in the name of the board, but to leave to their authors full responsibility for all publications made under its auspices or pursuant to its suggestions; and, finally, to cooperate with or serve the Government in such ways as it might be called upon to do.

The activities of the board at once began to assume a varied character. It is not easy to classify them all, but most fall into one or another of the categories of research, publications, lectures, education, Government service, and preservation of war records. These categories are not mutually exclusive, for most research, for example, was undertaken in some form of Government service, and the publications and lectures were chiefly of an educational character; nor are they completely comprehensive, for there were numerous activities of a miscellaneous sort which can not be classified. They may serve, however, as a cadre for the following account of the board's work.

#### RESEARCH.

In the conferences which preceded the organization of the board and in the discussions which followed it was clear that there was a general feeling among historians that for the time being at least activities of research should be directed to matters having a bearing upon actual problems in order that accurate knowledge of the experience of the past might be invoked for such present guidance as it should afford. The resources of the board were not such as to enable it to carry out for itself any elaborate program of research; it was obliged, with few exceptions, to content itself with encouragement and suggestion. To this end a letter was composed and sent (May 11, 1917) to some 75 or more professors of history, most of whom had charge of graduate or research courses, in which the problem was thus presented:

European historians have long had the quickening, though at times dangerous, consciousness that their modern historical problems were instinct with life; that their topics for research involved sensitive international relations, were live wires connecting with stores of dynamite, were liable at any moment to pass from history into present action.

Are not American historians learning that some of the important facts in our democratic development are more intimately connected with present urgent choices of domestic policy and foreign relations than had been commonly appreciated?

Is it not possible that in research work during the present summer and winter, at least, we ought to make fuller use of our realization that out of history there are issues of life to-day?

Can we not give greater zest to our research work, both in seminary and as individuals by dealing with phases which are directly or indirectly connected with present problems? Shall we not feel better justified in following the scholar's calling if by our investigations we furnish material useful to Americans in determining their decisions in the great issues which now confront them and which will, in changing forms, confront them for a considerable future?

These are matters, not only of presenting the results of previous study and writing; they are matters for new and unforeseen adjustments of old to new; for research, and for research under the pressure of instant demand for information.

In the first place it is important to be able to furnish a background for news items. Our board is already in a position where we shall often have advance information as to what will be news in certain lines some time before the event. This advance information would give a student familiar with the field and bibliography of the suggested subject time to produce an article which, though not final, will yet possess an intimacy of touch and an orientation impossible to a reporter \* \* \*.

In the second place there are certain aspects of history with which the public should be familiar, but the significance of which is apparent only to one with a long perspective. In such cases the historians of the country should take the initiative, not waiting for the press.

In his speech at the Gridiron Club dinner, in Washington, February 26, 1916, President Wilson showed how deeply he was influenced by the historical mode of approach to his problem. He said:

"You can never tell your direction except by long measurements. You can not establish a line by two posts; you have got to have three at least to know whether they are straight with anything, and the longer your line the more certain your measurement. There is only one way in which to determine how the future of the United States is going to be projected, and that is by looking backward and seeing which way the lines ran which led up to the present moment of power and of opportunity. There is no doubt about that."

The historical research and thought of the country should surely be concerned with this work of surveying American tendencies and ideals. It is important for us to know what, in the opinion of the profession, such subjects are, and to know whether they are being studied, and if so, where. If they are being neglected, we may be able to promote their study, and if they are being studied, we are in a position to bring the concentrated results before the public widely over the country.

The third function of research is one in connection with which the board can do little, but the leaders of research in the country by correspondence and intercourse may do much. It is obvious that the problem of world reconstruction will not cease to be vital to the next generation. Not in detail but in general, it is possible to foresee the kind of questions which it will ask of its historians. Ought not a good proportion of the young scholars in our seminaries be directed to interest themselves, whatever their fields, along lines which may contribute to the wise solution of these problems which will be the pivot of politics and legislation during their lives? An illustration may be made in the fact that the devotion and skill which have been given to a study of the Napoleonic wars, and even of our Civil War, have yet left almost untouched many subjects which throw most direct light upon the difficulties of to-day. Will it not be possible for us to do something—we all realize how little prophetic we are—to make this loss of experience as slight as it may be for the future?

As a first step will you not write the board any ideas you may have on the general subject and any contribution you may be prepared to make?

After we receive information, we shall be glad to communicate with you, noting whether certain topics seem to be in need of attention by historians. In case of subjects actually under study we shall be glad to be of use in giving a national currency to the concentrated historical results. Will you not convey the ideas of this letter to such of your colleagues as you think willing and able to assist in the work?

It is difficult to form an estimate of the results of this letter. In respect to furnishing the historical background for news items they were negligible, for the board never developed the close contact with journalism that it had expected in the early days of its existence to make. It is not probable, either, that the immediate course of seminar work in the universities was much affected; it is not easy to make sudden changes of direction and in any event most able-bodied members of the seminars were soon engaged in quite other lines of effort in the officers' training camps. Probably the letter stimulated individual research and production; certainly the war period was marked by a large output of historical publications, articles, and books having a bearing upon contemporary events and issues. A number of articles suggested by the board were published in the *American Historical Review* and elsewhere, and the board secured directly some 30 or more articles for the *Historical Outlook*, in addition to the documentary materials and the educational or pedagogical articles of a suggestive nature which it also contributed to the latter magazine. The board was undoubtedly a factor in creating the atmosphere which favored the production referred to; indeed, one of the most widely read books of the period was by a member of the board: "Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule," by Charles Downer Hazen.

The board took a more active part in the publication of bibliographical aids to research. A list of articles in periodicals relating to the war was prepared by Miss Harriette M. Dilla, who offered her services in the summer of 1917, and it was published in mimeographed form by the Library of Congress. Profs. G. M. Dutcher, A. H. Lybyer, and others compiled a "Selected bibliography of the war" which was printed in the *Historical Outlook* (then the *History Teacher's Magazine*) for April, 1918. An expansion of this bibliography, in which the board was much aided by Prof. Ella Lonn of Goucher College, was well advanced by the close of the war but was not completed. Members of the board assisted in preparing the bibliography compiled by Prof. T. W. Riker and published by the committee on special training and education, of the War Department, (C. e. 17, Bibliography no. 1) for use in the war-issues course of the Students' Army Training Corps, and Dr. Leo F. Stock made a digest of the war legislation of the Sixty-fifth Congress and a calendar of the Executive orders relating to the war, the first of these

compilations being published in the *Historical Outlook* for October, 1919. After the close of the war an elaborate bibliography of peace and reconstruction, prepared by Prof. Joseph Schafer, the vice chairman of the board, was published by the World Peace Foundation (*League of Nations Series*, II, special number).

The most important work of research carried on by the board or by its members was in cooperation with the so-called "House Inquiry" or "Peace Inquiry," the organization which under Col. Edward M. House gathered information respecting the problems which seemed likely to come up for consideration at the Peace Congress which would meet upon the conclusion of the war. The Inquiry had its own organization and the members of the board who belonged to it worked as individual scholars and not as representatives of the board, but it is worth noting that they were entrusted with some of the most important sections of the Inquiry's work. Thus Prof. J. T. Shotwell, the first chairman of the board, was an administrative officer of the Inquiry; Prof. Charles H. Haskins directed the investigation dealing with the problem areas of the Western Front, Belgium, Luxembourg, Alsace-Lorraine, etc., in which Prof. Wallace Notestein also took part; Prof. A. C. Coolidge conducted research in Russian and Polish matters, and Prof. Dana C. Munro was in charge of the investigations relating to the Near East.

But the board also conducted certain researches for the Inquiry in its corporate capacity. The most extensive of these investigations took the form of compiling a compendium of the diplomatic history of Europe, Asia, and Africa since 1870. This work, which was called for upon a month's notice, was directed by Professors Frank M. Anderson and Amos S. Hershey who secured the collaboration of 60 or more scholars. The result of this cooperation was published by the Department of State: *Handbook for the diplomatic history of Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1870-1914* (Washington, 1918).

Another investigation called for by the Inquiry was into the nature and history of governments less than sovereign, which was conducted for the board by Profs. W. W. Willoughby and Charles G. Fenwick in cooperation with the Institute for Government Research.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

In early discussions as to possible activities of the board it had seemed that publication would take an important place. Comprehensive but somewhat vague plans were entertained for supplying material of various kinds to newspapers and periodicals, of establishing a series of pamphlets or small books, even of maintaining some sort of a periodical, but it was soon found that many difficulties, the nature of which may be readily imagined, opposed the execution of such ambitious projects. The members of the board

did not have the experience in practical journalism which was essential to any attempt at feeding the columns of the daily press. Few members of the historical profession were in the habit of writing for newspaper publication or had acquired that style of literary expression which seems to be successful in American journalism. The two or three articles which the board furnished for rewriting and adaptation to newspaper use were so denatured in the process that there was little encouragement to continue the practice.

To a less extent the same difficulties surrounded the publication of magazine articles. It had been thought that the board might maintain a sort of reservoir of materials suitable for the popular or serious periodicals, and a tentative arrangement was even made with one of the standard monthlies whereby the board was to supply a certain number of pages of material for each issue, but the board had no more success as a literary agent than as a press agency, and wasted little time in fruitless experimentation.

It was realized from the beginning that the activities of the board along the lines mentioned, even if successful, must be largely supplemented by the individual and unorganized efforts of the members of the historical profession. Accordingly, the following letter of May 13, 1917, was sent to some 225 men and women, historians or teachers of history, in all parts of the country:

There has never been a period in American history when public opinion has needed such a broad foundation of unfamiliar fact. The crisis in which we are now, was brought upon the Nation by outside forces rather than by internal movements. The solution of the present situation moreover requires on the part of the people a large amount of fact with which they are unaccustomed to deal.

The historian knows that in determining the public opinion of the moment as well as that of to-morrow, which means so much for the future, the resources of human experience are bound to be drawn upon to a very great degree. He knows also how important it is that the facts furnished to the people shall be genuine and the interpretation of them made by experts rather than by quacks.

At no time in our history has the historian been so obviously called to the immediate service of the Nation; the formation of the National Board for Historical Service is an effort to provide a medium for the rendering of such service. The board, however, realizes that the major portion of the work must be done by the members of the profession acting in their own localities, where the influence of their personality is an established factor.

The correspondence which this board has already had with members of the historical profession in many parts of the country reveals an encouraging realization, on the part of historians, of their responsibilities and opportunities. We find that in many cases professors and teachers are giving special courses or series of lectures on the issues of the present moment; some are addressing public meetings, clubs, churches, or special gatherings; some are interesting themselves particularly in stimulating the teachers of the public schools, while many are writing special articles which appear in current magazines and newspapers.

It seems clear to us that the local press affords an important medium through which the historian may render a most useful service. By making the acquaintance of editors and reporters, by watching the columns of the local newspapers for statements that in the interest of truth should be controverted, by offering editorial material, by writing communications or special articles of historical character pertinent to immediate questions, and by furnishing the correct historical background for many items of current news the historian may exercise a salutary influence in his community.

It seems to us that this is a time when all the accumulated resources of reputation, information, and judgment belong to the Nation and should be put at the disposal of the public.

We shall be glad if you will keep us informed from time to time of your own and of other activities and especially if you will make such suggestions as may occur to you, in order that the board may serve the historical profession in general as a sort of clearing house of information.

The resources of the board did not allow it to embark upon any schemes of publication of its own. Plans for a series of pamphlets were much discussed but it was early determined, as a part of the board's policy not to publish or edit pamphlets or volumes. If the board had no publications of its own, however, it took an active part in preparing and editing the series of pamphlets issued by the committee on public information, an activity which will be described below as a part of the Government service which the board was called upon to render.

Furthermore, the board's relation with the Historical Outlook, the columns of which were placed at its disposal by the editor, Dr. Albert E. McKinley, and the publishers, the McKinley Publishing Co., of Philadelphia, was such as to make that periodical, for the time being, almost an organ of the board. The use which the board made of these facilities was chiefly in the conduct of its educational work and is described under that head. The single publication made by the board as such, the War Readings, prepared by Mrs. Dana C. Munro (Scribner), to a certain extent a deviation from its policy, was also educational in character.

During the last months of the board's existence the vice chairman was authorized to secure the publication, though not in the name of the board, of a volume of essays by different writers, entitled, "Democracy in Reconstruction."<sup>3</sup>

#### LECTURING.

In the field of lecturing the board formulated and carried out a more systematic program than in that of publications. It made a canvass of the historical profession in order to ascertain who of its

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<sup>3</sup> F. A. Cleveland and Joseph Schafer, "Democracy and Reconstruction" (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1919). A volume of 23 essays grouped under the heads "Ideals of democracy," "After-war social problems," "After-war labor problems," "After-war transportation problems," "After-war political problems." The introductory essay is by Prof. Schafer, "The historical background of reconstruction in America."

members were able to deliver lectures in the various summer schools, particularly in the schools most frequented by teachers, and suggested to the directors of these schools, through the Bureau of Education, that lectures on the issues of the war be made a feature of the summer program. The board also furnished the names of possible lecturers, and syllabi of lecturers for use when special lecturers were not available, and furnished the names of lecturers, on request, to such organizations as the community chautauquas, to churches, clubs, societies, etc.

In this connection should be mentioned the work of the New England Group for Historical Service, the organization of which grew out of suggestions by the board, and which cooperated most effectively with the latter.<sup>4</sup> This group not only delivered a series of lectures at Camp Devens under the auspices of the board, but also independently, a large number of lectures in the towns and summer resorts of New England.

The principal project of lecturing organized and carried out by the board was the delivery of 5 illustrated lectures in 22 of the major training camps.<sup>5</sup> These lectures were given under the auspices of the educational committee of the War Department's Commission on Training Camp Activities and with the material aid of the Y. M. C. A. and the Knights of Columbus. A large number of scholars took part in this work, which required in many cases an extended residence in camp. Each lecture was repeated a sufficient number of times to enable all men who wished to do so to hear it. The board provided the lantern slides, and by way of suggestion an outline of each lecture, the subjects of which were as follows: The warring countries and their geography; The growth of Germany and of German ambitions; The French Republic and what it stands for; The British Empire and what it stands for; How the war came about and how it developed; The American democracy and the war. In some cases the series was given by a single lecturer, in others by several, each one dealing with the subject with which he was most familiar. This activity of the board was organized and carried out by Dr. J. F. Jameson.

In the late spring of 1917 the board received a request from the University of London to provide a lecturer on American history for

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<sup>4</sup> The New England Group for Historical Service was composed of the following, some of whom were also members of the national board: Arthur I. Andrews, secretary; H. J. Ahern, Warren A. Ault, S. P. R. Chadwick, Samuel L. Conner, A. C. Coolidge, Theodore F. Collier, Irving H. Countryman, Herbert D. Foster, Rollin M. Gallagher, A. H. Gilmer, Charles H. Haskins, Roy W. Hatch, J. L. Keegen, A. C. Lane, Charles R. Lingley, Leo S. McCollester, C. H. McIlwain, George S. Miller, Theodore Clarke Smith, Frederick L. Thompson, Mason W. Tyler.

<sup>5</sup> Camps Beauregard, Custer, Devens, Dtx, Dodge, Doniphan, Fremont, Funston, Grant, Greene, Jackson, Lee, Lewis, Logan, McArthur, McClellan, Meade, Oglethorpe, Sheridan, Sherman, Taylor, Upton.



its summer session. This the board was unable to do on such short notice, but in the course of correspondence during which the original invitation was much broadened, it was decided that a lecturer should be sent to England to speak on American history and American participation in the war, before the universities of the United Kingdom and Ireland. For this mission the board, having secured from various sources<sup>6</sup> the requisite funds, selected Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, who sailed for England in April, 1918, accompanied by Mr. Charles Moore. Professor McLaughlin delivered lectures before the Universities of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Reading, Bristol, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Nottingham, Exeter, Southampton, Bangor, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dublin, his tour having been arranged by Prof. Arthur P. Newton, of Kings College, London. He also addressed the Royal Historical Society and gatherings of teachers of history in London, as well as a meeting of workmen in Walsall.<sup>7</sup>

Another series of lectures arranged by the board was delivered by Prof. George M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto, who spoke on Canadian history and institutions before the summer schools of Harvard, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Chicago, Northwestern, and Wisconsin Universities in July and August, 1918.

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK.

No division of the board's work was more varied or more extensive in scope than that which dealt with education. Some of this work was carried on indirectly, some of it in cooperation with the Bureau of Education, and some of it by the board in its own name.

In May, 1917, the board furnished the Bureau of Education with the text of a letter to high-school principals, which had been composed by Prof. Guy Stanton Ford for use in Minnesota, urging that the approaching commencement exercises be directed "toward an elevated and enlightening discussion of the faith in popular government." This was distributed by the bureau as its "Civic Education Letter, 1917, No. 1." At the same time and in the same way a letter drawn up by the board was sent to all directors of summer schools (Bureau of Education, "Civic Education Letter, 1917, No. 2"), suggesting that lectures on the war be included in the school programs; this suggestion was followed up with correspondence and

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<sup>6</sup> The contributors who made possible this mission were Messrs. Cass Gilbert, Thomas W. Lamont, Charles Altschul, J. M. Longyear, and G. S. Baker.

<sup>7</sup> Professor McLaughlin contributed an informal account of his mission to the *Historical Outlook* for December, 1918, under the title "Impressions of Britain in war time." His lectures have been published in book form, *America and Britain* (E. P. Dutton, 1919). Their subjects concerned America's entry into the war, British and American relations, the Monroe Doctrine, and the background of American federalism.

practical suggestions as to lecturers and subjects, an activity which has already been described.

It was also through the Bureau of Education that the board inaugurated one of its most important undertakings, the publication of a series of suggestions respecting the teaching of history in the secondary schools, designed to show how the history courses might be made more profitable and more enlightening in view of contemporary events. These suggestions were prepared by four committees, each dealing with one of the fields of history which compose the high-school curriculum, ancient, general European, English, and American.<sup>8</sup> To serve as an introduction to the series the board prepared a pamphlet entitled "Opportunities for History teachers: the lessons of the Great War in the classroom," which was published by the Bureau of Education as its "Teachers' Leaflet No. 1, 1917," and distributed widely among teachers of history during the summer of 1917. In this pamphlet certain general suggestions were offered in an endeavor to point out the duties and responsibilities of the history teacher in the present emergency, the proper use of history in stimulating patriotism and especially in developing the sense of duty and of civic obligation, and to warn against the abuse of history and chauvinistic tendencies. Then followed more specific suggestions respecting the four fields of history which have been enumerated. This pamphlet was followed up by progressive suggestions and comment in each of these fields, which were published serially in the *Historical Outlook* (*History Teachers' Magazine*) from September, 1917, to May, 1918, and which were designed to accompany the four courses through the school year.

The preparation of a companion pamphlet of suggestions in history, civics, and geography for the use of teachers in the elementary schools was undertaken with the aid of Prof. J. M. Gambrill, but changing circumstances prevented its completion.

In the summer of 1918 a second pamphlet was prepared for the board containing an "Outline of an emergency course of instruction on the war," by Charles A. Coulomb, Arnold J. Gerson, and Albert E. McKinley. This was intended for use in both elementary and secondary schools and was published by the Bureau of Education as "Teachers' Leaflet, No. 4, 1918."<sup>9</sup> At the same time a short history

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<sup>8</sup> These committees were as follows: Ancient history, R. V. D. Magoffin, chairman, J. H. Breasted, S. P. R. Chadwick, W. S. Davis, W. S. Ferguson, A. T. Olmstead, W. L. Westermann; medieval and modern European history, D. C. Munro, chairman, F. M. Anderson, Arthur I. Andrews, S. B. Harding, D. C. Knowlton, Margaret McGill; English history, A. L. Cross, chairman, Wayland J. Chase, E. P. Cheyney, Blanche E. Hazard, L. M. Larson, Wallace Notestein; American history, Everts B. Greene, chairman, W. L. Fleming, R. A. Maurer, F. L. Paxson, T. C. Smith, James Sullivan, E. M. Violette.

<sup>9</sup> The authors of this pamphlet subsequently published a textbook based on their *Outline School History of the Great War* (American Book Co.).

of the war, adapted to the upper grades of the elementary schools, was written by Eva March Tappan, at the suggestion of the board, and published by Houghton Mifflin Co.: *The Little Book of the War*; while a selection of readings for school use was compiled for the board by Mrs. Dana C. Munro and edited by Prof. Robert C. Clark, of the University of Oregon. It was published by Charles Scribner's Sons under the title of "*War Readings*."

A French war reader for use in high-school and college classes was also compiled by the board, with the assistance of Prof. Charles A. Downer, who furnished the linguistic editing and vocabulary, the historical editing being done chiefly by Miss Esther M. Galbraith, but a series of untoward circumstances prevented its publication before the close of the war and it was abandoned. The introduction to the reader was, however, published in a translation by Professor Downer, in *National School Service*, the educational periodical of the Committee on Public Information, for December 15, 1918. This introduction was in the form of a charming address to American school children by the veteran French historian, educator, and academician, Ernest Lavisse, entitled "*Why a Frenchman loves America*," which was procured for the board by the French Mission.

Through the columns of the *Historical Outlook* the board published a number of aids to teachers in addition to the series of suggestions already noted. These took the form of special articles and particularly of "war supplements" containing documentary and other material. The first of these (January, 1918) was a "*Topical Outline of the Great War*," by Prof. Samuel B. Harding (also published as a pamphlet of the Committee on Public Information), which served as a most complete and valuable guide for the organization of courses, lectures, and readings. A companion supplement (March, 1918) was the "*Selected Bibliography of the War*," by Profs. G. M. Dutcher and A. H. Lybyer, already noted, while a geographical supplement (April, 1918), prepared by Professors Harding and William E. Lingelbach, furnished a small but exceedingly useful collection of war maps for school use. Other supplements contained documents and other illustrative material respecting the German occupation of Belgium, the war aims of Germany as regarded France, British views on reconstruction and historic peace congresses and alliances, while two others were devoted to a bibliography of peace and reconstruction and to a digest of the war legislation of the Sixty-fifth Congress. One of the most important supplements (January, 1919) was a comprehensive review of the "*Economic Mobilization of the United States*," prepared by the Historical Branch of the General Staff under the direction of Maj. F. L. Paxson, a member of the board. The special articles took the form of discussions of specific

problems such as the effect of the war on labor and capital, European neutrals and the peace conference, the Russian Revolution and the war, etc., and after the armistice there was contributed a series of narratives of personal experiences or accounts of special phases of war activity by various members of the historical profession.<sup>10</sup> Reprints of many of the contributions and entire copies of the *Historical Outlook* were purchased by the board in large quantities and distributed in response to requests for suggestions and information.

In the second half of 1918, with the creation of the Students' Army Training Corps and the organization of the War Issues Course as a part of its curriculum, the cooperation of the board with the War Department's Committee on Education and Special Training became an important part of the former's educational work. This took the form of advising with respect to the War Issues Course, and particularly of aid in preparing a pamphlet of "Questions on the Issues of the War" (C. e. 21). This latter compilation, which was not in any sense a catechism, contained some 112 questions selected as most significant and representative from among several thousand queries actually presented in writing by men in military training. The questions were grouped under various heads and each group was accompanied by detailed references to easily accessible sources from which the information desired might be obtained. Also for use in the War Issues Course, Prof. A. E. McKinley brought together in a volume, "Collected Materials for the Study of the War," the war supplements of the *Historical Outlook* with some other material, and this collection of sources and aids was generally adopted to supplement the lectures and textbooks with which the course was conducted.

In the latter half of 1917, in order to stimulate teachers to prepare themselves for explaining the war to their classes, the board offered prizes for essays by teachers in the public schools on the subject "Why the United States is at war." This contest was organized in 15 States, the funds for the prizes being obtained chiefly through the

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<sup>10</sup> This series was made up of the following articles: "The Food Administration: A test of American democracy," by E. S. Brown (May, 1919); "War tasks and accomplishments of the Shipping Board," by J. G. Randall (June, 1919); "With the First Division," by Lieut. R. A. Newhall (October, 1919); "The German press and the war," by Victor S. Clark (November, 1919); "Over there in Siberia," by Capt. L. B. Packard (December, 1919); "How American aviators were trained," by Col. Hiram Bingham (January, 1920); "Morale work in an Army camp," by Maj. R. V. B. Magoffin (February, 1920); "The committee on public information," by Prof. G. S. Ford (March, 1920); "The procurement of quartermaster's supplies during the World War," by Albert L. Scott (April, 1920); "Experiences of a Y. M. C. A. secretary in Russia," by T. P. Martin (May, 1920); "Intelligence work at First Army headquarters," by Capt. J. C. Parish (June, 1920); "Going over," by Ensign S. C. Clement (November, 1920).

generosity of various individuals.<sup>11</sup> In each State the competition was held in two groups, one comprising the teachers in the secondary schools, the other the teachers in the elementary schools, and in each group prizes aggregating \$150 were offered, both first prizes being of \$75. The winners of the first prizes competed in their respective groups for two national prizes offered by the board. Dr. Leo F. Stock had general charge of the content, and in each State a director was appointed who named the committees of award and attended to other details. Some 688 essays were offered in competition, North Carolina leading the other States with 94 competitors.<sup>12</sup>

The chief educational activity to which the board devoted the last months of its existence in 1919 was a fresh study of the whole program of historical instruction in the schools. The request to undertake this work came from the National Education Association through its commission on a national program for education, and the first step taken by the board was to secure the cooperation of the American Historical Association. The two organizations appointed a joint committee on history and education for citizenship in the schools,<sup>13</sup> the organization of which was completed in February, 1919. The committee held meetings and conferences in Washington, New York, and Chicago, and individual members of it were in constant contact with associations or other groups of history teachers in all sections of the country in order that the work of the committee might have the benefit of the best opinion and the widest experience. The program which the committee set for itself was formulated, as follows, in its "Preliminary statement" of March 15:

(a) Starting from the idea of education for citizenship, the committee will plan courses in history for the eight years of the common school and the four years of high school, taking account also of the "six-three-three" arrangement, where that is in vogue. In addition it will consider the special needs of the normal school, the vocational school, the rural school, and the distinctive Americanization programs.

(b) As its most urgent problem, the committee will study the question of the high-school history courses, and will prepare a report on a first year of history and a second year of history in the high school. These courses, to be given either in the first and second or the second and third years (this point

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<sup>11</sup> The choice of States was determined by the ability of the board to secure funds, the donors specifying for which States their respective contributions were to be used. The contest was held in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The donors were Charles Altschul, George L. Beer, W. A. Brice, Gen. J. S. Carr, Thomas Chadbourne, Jr., Howell Cheyney, Paul Cravath, John Crosby, Samuel B. Harding, Dwight W. Morrow, Sigourney Stern, Cornelius J. Sullivan, and the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>12</sup> The results of the competition and the names of the State directors and committees of award were announced in the Historical Outlook for April and May, 1918.

<sup>13</sup> The committee was composed as follows: Joseph Schafer, chairman; Daniel C. Knowlton, secretary; William C. Bagley, Frank S. Bogardus, Julian A. C. Chandler, Guy Stanton Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Andrew C. McLaughlin.

to be decided after further investigation), are to be (1) a course in modern history and (2) a course in United States history.

(c) The committee accepts the report of the former Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association (*The Study of History in the Elementary Schools*, New York, Scribners, 1909) as the basis of the common-school history work, but it expects to study this report with a view to adjusting its recommendations to the new situation which will result from a recasting of the high-school work, and for the purpose of effecting other improvements that may seem practicable. One suggested change is to strengthen and dignify the sixth-grade history, covering European backgrounds, in order to make it serve as an introduction to the modern history course in the high school as well as to the American history course of the seventh and eighth grades. To that end the committee believes the sixth-grade work in history should be made a basis of promotion, as is the history of the upper two years.

(d) For controlling its procedure in the outlining of courses, the committee will attempt to apply the principle that "every new step in history instruction should be a step forward in the subject." It will seek to eliminate duplication by a careful selection of subject matter to be taught at each stage of the work in history. It also contemplates setting up some effective standards for measuring results in history instruction.

(e) The committee are agreed that methods of teaching history should be considered in the forthcoming report, that specimen lessons should be presented, and that one of the guiding principles in methodology is the necessity of placing greater stress than formerly upon significant interpretative ideas as opposed to a multiplicity of unrelated facts.

The aims of the committee as set forth at the same time are also worth quoting in full both because of their high idealism and because of the clear conception which they reveal of the value of history as an essential part of any program of education:

1. The supreme aim in the teaching of history and social science is to give positive direction to the growth of those mental and moral qualities of children which, rightly developed, constitute the basis of the highest type of citizenship.

2. We gladly acknowledge that all sound training, through whatever feature of the school curriculum, contributes helpfully to this desired end; but we are nevertheless convinced that the historical training affects the result most directly.

3. Historical training (a) frees the mind from the trammels of time and place, substituting the idea of social development and change for the instinctive notion of a static social world, performing in this respect a service in education analogous to that performed by biology for organic nature or by geology for inorganic nature. (b) It tends to produce openmindedness, which mitigates native prejudice and permits truth to gain recognition. (c) It induces patient inquiry for the purpose of disclosing the facts of a given situation before passing judgment. (d) It gives some grasp upon the methods of investigation and the tests of accuracy. (e) It develops that form of judgment which deals with the shifting and conditional relations of men in society, supplementing the scientific judgment which arises from the study of animate and inanimate nature and of mathematics. (f) It yields, or should yield, the high moral and ethical concepts of loyalty to principles and to institutions by revealing the cost at which the elements of civilization have been secured for us.

The work of the committee was actively carried on during the spring and summer of 1919, a tentative report being presented in the *Historical Outlook* for June of that year; and a further report was presented to the American Historical Association in December, 1919, and was published in the *Historical Outlook* for February, 1920. Upon the adjournment of the board on December 30, 1919, the committee was continued as a committee of the American Historical Association but its further history is not a part of this chronicle.<sup>14</sup>

The miscellaneous and minor activities of the board in the field of education were numerous. The board was represented by its chairman in the Emergency Council on Education which was organized under the National Research Council, and the chairman or members of the board took part in various educational conferences, such as those of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education held at Atlantic City in February, 1918, and the Conference on International Relations in Education called by the United States Commissioner of Education, and addressed gatherings of teachers in different parts of the country. The board also carried on an extensive correspondence with educators and history teachers who wrote to it for suggestions, advice, or information. In these and in many other ways the board endeavored to serve the interests of history and of education and to advance the cause of reasoned and intelligent patriotism.

#### GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

Various services which the board performed for the Government have already been described, including the investigations undertaken for the Peace Inquiry, the service to the War Department in providing lectures in the camps and assistance in the organization of the War Issues Course, and the cooperation with the Bureau of Education in the publication of suggestions for teachers. The two principal forms of Government service, however, consisted of cooperation with the Committee on Public Information and the examination of the daily and periodical press of the enemy countries.

The Committee on Public Information was already at work before the establishment of the board, but its organization had not been completed. Partly as a result of suggestions from the board the committee created a division of civic and educational cooperation, of which Prof. Guy Stanton Ford was director, assisted later by Prof. Samuel B. Harding, both of whom were members of the board. The principal function of this division was the preparation of war

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<sup>14</sup> Subsequent reports of the committee are printed in the *Historical Outlook* for March, April, May, June, 1920.

pamphlets of patriotic or informative character and their publication and distribution, a work in which the board cooperated to such an extent that it was to all intents and purposes an auxiliary of the division. The board advised with respect to the subject matter of proposed pamphlets, suggested writers, aided in the work of research which the nature of some of the publications made necessary, and served as a distributor of the pamphlets to teachers and students of history. The board procured for the division the material for certain pamphlets, as "The Great War: From Spectator to Participant," by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, and "The Battle Line of Democracy," a collection of patriotic prose and verse of America and of the allied countries, compiled by Miss Elizabeth Donnan and Miss Frances G. Davenport, and took an active part in the compilation of the War Encyclopedia. Members of the board wrote or compiled certain other of the pamphlets, notably "The Government of Germany," by Charles Downer Hazen; "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad," by Evarts B. Greene; "Conquest and Kultur," by Wallace Notestein, a compilation of quotations from German sources revealing the plans and purposes of pan-Germanism; and "German War Practices," by Dana C. Munro, dealing with the treatment of civilians and of conquered territory, based on a careful examination of German and neutral evidence and on the records of the Department of State. A special service rendered by the board was the critical examination of certain documents procured from Russia by Mr. Edgar Sisson, which seemed to establish the existence of a German-Bolshevik conspiracy. The authenticity of these documents having been questioned in some sections of the press the matter was referred by the committee to the board, which appointed a special committee of historical experts. The report of this committee, which pronounced in favor of the authenticity of the essential documents, though not of all, was published by the Committee on Public Information as "The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy (War Information Series No. 20)."<sup>15</sup>

The most important single undertaking of the board was the maintenance of an Enemy-Press Intelligence Service. In the spring of 1917 the Pictorial Service of the British High Commission procured for the board a regular supply of the more important German newspapers and periodicals. These were at first utilized by an experienced journalist, the late Gustav Pollak, who supplied the Committee on Public Information with translations of extracts suitable for use by the American press. When Doctor Pollak was obliged by reason of his health to give up this work a special Enemy Press

<sup>15</sup> A concise account of the work of the Committee on Public Information, by Prof. G. S. Ford, was published in the *Historical Outlook* for March, 1919.



Bureau was organized by the board upon direct request by the President, and one of its members, Mr. Victor S. Clark, was made director of it. The work of this bureau rapidly assumed large proportions; additional newspapers and periodicals were procured, some through the French Mission, some through the Belgian Information Service, and some through direct subscription in Holland and Switzerland, until the board was in current receipt of some 34 German and Austrian daily papers and about 50 periodicals, including carefully selected medical, agricultural, technical, scientific, political, and general journals.

This material was read by Doctor Clark, who dictated translations of summaries to a corps of stenographers. These summaries were typed in multiple and classified, and the various sets were distributed as they were produced. One set was transmitted to the State Department, two sets to the Military Intelligence section of the General Staff, one of which was sent to the General Staff of the American Expeditionary Force in France. A fourth set was sent to the Peace Inquiry, until it was transferred to Paris after the armistice. A fifth set was sent to the library of Princeton University in return for the services of a stenographer; and a sixth set was filed in the bureau. Special portions of the translated material were also transmitted to the Food Administration, the Public Health Service, the Federal Reserve Board, the Bureau of Education, and to other offices of the Government, and from time to time to certain periodicals when it was considered desirable to secure their publication in the United States. The State Department was occasionally furnished with copies of matters of unusual importance, as in the case of the German-Russian treaties.

The files of newspapers and periodicals were also used extensively by Government offices such as the War Trade Board, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Children's Bureau, and others in the course of special investigations by their own employees,<sup>16</sup> while the Committee on Public Information maintained a translator and typist in the bureau until the close of the war.

The work of the bureau was continued until July 1, 1919. The newspapers and periodicals were then disposed of in various ways, chiefly to the Library of Congress and to the Hoover collection of Stanford University, and the file of summaries was deposited in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. These translations, numbering over 20,000 items, have been reproduced by photography for six subscribing libraries,<sup>17</sup> making available for re-

<sup>16</sup> For example, "The Food Situation in Europe," by Alfred Maylander, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 242, April, 1918.

<sup>17</sup> University of Illinois, University of Chicago, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, Vassar College, Pomona College.

search a large amount of carefully gathered information respecting economic, social, political, and intellectual conditions in the countries of the Central Powers.

#### COLLECTION AND PRESERVATION OF WAR RECORDS.

From the first days of its existence the board regarded as one of its most important duties the effort to encourage the collection and preservation of all material which would serve to record the mobilization of the military, economic, social, and intellectual forces of the country. It was realized that the emergency of war would necessitate a canvass of the Nation's resources, human and material, such as had never before been undertaken, and it was felt to be a matter of vital importance that the record of this canvass in all its details should be preserved. The efforts of historians of the present generation to reconstruct the social and economic history of the Civil War and the difficulties encountered by them in discovering and assembling the essential materials made them still more keenly aware of the necessity of immediate effort and activity with respect to contemporary records. Furthermore, agencies suitable for undertaking such activities, which were almost nonexistent in 1865, were now plentiful in the form of historical societies, State commissions of history, and libraries. Accordingly on May 10, 1917, a subcommittee of the board sent the following letter to all State historical commissions, to the more active historical societies, and to a large number of libraries, in all to some four or five hundred institutions and organizations.

The National Board for Historical Service is a voluntary and unofficial body, the principal object of which is to furnish a medium through which in the present crisis the historical scholarship of the country may render its appropriate and, we hope, effective service.

It seems clear to us that if the interests of the student of history are to be secured the various historical agencies of the country, and especially the historical societies and libraries, must bestir themselves to provide for the systematic and inclusive collection and the effective preservation of all kinds of material serving to record and illustrate present events.

Naturally such a problem presents itself in different ways to different agencies. The Library of Congress, the agent of the National Government, is endeavoring to collect all material of national importance; the State agency (historical society, department of history, historical commission, etc.) naturally seeks to preserve a record of State activities.

The amount of formal literature relating to the war is already of formidable extent, and only the largest institutions can hope to make any considerable collection of it.

There are, however, many kinds of material which are of the greatest value to the historian and which the library or society that interests itself in local matters can collect more effectively than can the larger institutions.

This material is such as illustrates the local state of mind—the local reactions, local events, etc. Such material includes the following:

1. Official documents, such as municipal ordinances, proclamations of mayors, notices of boards, etc.

2. Semiofficial documents: Resolutions of public meetings, of labor unions, of church societies, etc.

3. Public-service documents: Announcements, notices, orders, etc., issued by public-service corporations.

4. Fugitive printed material: Posters (recruiting and other); programs of concerts, meetings, fairs, etc., held for purposes connected with the war.

5. Economic material: Price lists, advertisements.

6. Propaganda material.

7. Clippings.

8. Pictorial material: Photographs of local events, of soldiers, and bodies of troops, etc.

9. Manuscript material: Letters, diaries, sermons, addresses, etc.

These categories are mentioned only by way of illustration. It is assumed that societies and libraries are as a matter of course acquiring such books and newspapers as they can.

It is a part of our plan, if the matter meets with general approval from those to whom this letter is addressed, to prepare a small pamphlet of information and suggestions respecting the collection of war material for permanent preservation.

Will you not cooperate with us to the extent of informing us as specifically and in as much detail as possible with respect to what your own society or library is doing or is planning to do along these lines?

We should also be glad to receive from you any constructive suggestions that may have occurred to you as a result of your experience.

For the board.

GAILLARD HUNT,  
ROBERT D. W. CONNOR,  
WALDO G. LELAND,  
*Subcommittee.*

This letter brought a large number of replies which showed that many organizations, especially those officially connected with State governments had had the matter of record preservation seriously under consideration or had already engaged in systematic work to that end. From the replies there was also extracted much information which was of value to the board in its subsequent work but which was never compiled in the form of a pamphlet as had been suggested in the letter.

Three months later a similar action, but in a slightly different direction, was taken by the board when it learned of the organization, by certain State or county councils of defense, of special committees for the collection of war records, and accordingly sent the following letter of August 15, 1917, to the secretaries of all the State councils of defense:

The National Board for Historical Service is endeavoring to do two things: To make our past experience useful for the present, and to see to it that our

present experience is preserved for the future. We believe that experience is the greatest human asset, and that its use and preservation are matters of the greatest public importance.

Would it not be within the range of the functions of your council to appoint a State committee on history?

The following quotation from a letter of the chairman of the history committee of the Council of Defense of Eau Claire County, Wis., gives an idea of the kind of work that may be done. Any Grand Army man must appreciate what it would have meant to him if this had been during the Civil War:

"It is the purpose of this committee to gather, preserve, index, and make available for public use a record of the sentiments and activities of organizations and individuals of the county in the present war.

"As regards the newspapers it is the intention to preserve in scrapbooks a complete series of the editorials and also the local news items bearing or connected with the war. All this material will be card indexed and this index will refer to the publication and issue from which each item is taken.

"Much attention will be given to the preservation, with proper data attached, of photographs and other pictures pertaining to the collections of organizations and individuals of the county in this war. Programs of patriotic gatherings and of all meetings in any way connected with the war. Also personal letters written by those in any branch of the military service will be gathered so far as possible. \* \* \*

"A small credit was placed at our disposal by the county council of defense, and the committee had made up one hundred large scrapbook leaves \* \* \*. This provides for every paper in the county except the one whose editor has not responded. \* \* \*

"All material gathered will be handed over to our public library on completion of work."

Our board will be in a position to cooperate with such a committee. Without local assistance we will be able to do little.

As a result of the suggestion thus communicated a number of State councils appointed committees, or "State war history commissions," as they were more commonly termed, which were soon in active operation.

Meanwhile the board sent letters to certain nongovernmental war organizations calling attention to the probable value of their records for historical purposes and urging their careful preservation. Information was also secured with respect to the condition of governmental war records in Washington, and in some cases members of the board were called in consultation with respect to the classification and disposition of such material.

In order still further to focus attention upon the importance of the collection and preservation of war records the board proposed to the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association that the conference of archivists, which was to be held as a session of the annual meetings of the association in Philadelphia, in December, 1917, be devoted to a discussion of that subject. This suggestion was adopted and the secretary of the board and others

read papers respecting the value of certain groups of governmental archives and the status of State and local collections.<sup>18</sup>

During 1918, and especially after the armistice, many additional war history commissions were created, and a marked energy began to be displayed in most parts of the country in the collection of all material that might serve to record the war activities of the various States. With these bodies the board cooperated, in the summer and fall of 1919, in the organization of the National Association of State War History Organizations, the purpose of which was to further the work of the State bodies by exchange of information and suggestions, and especially by the exploitation of the war archives of the National Government for material of value to the States. The connection of the board with this new association did not extend beyond the aid in organizing it already referred to and placing at its disposal all the information collected by the board with regard to war records in Washington. Indeed, the association thus formed practically took over from the board the function of encouraging the collection and preservation of materials for the history of the war.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, while the board's activity with respect to war records was confined to encouragement, suggestion, and watchfulness, it had nevertheless a very real part in starting an important movement from which the history of the United States must receive an incalculable benefit.

#### PERSONNEL, PROCEDURE, FINANCES.

The membership of the board increased from 9 to 25 during the 32 months of its existence, most of the additions being of scholars who came to Washington for longer or shorter periods of war work. The complete personnel of the board was as follows:

*Chairmen.*—James T. Shotwell, April 29–November 9, 1917; Evarts B. Greene, November 9, 1917–September 11, 1918; Dana C. Munro, September 11, 1918–December 30, 1919.

*Vice chairmen.*—Charles H. Hull, April 29–November 9, 1917; Dana C. Munro, November 9, 1917–September 11, 1918; Joseph Schafer (executive officer), September 11, 1918–December 30, 1919.

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<sup>18</sup> The proceedings of this conference are printed in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1917.

<sup>19</sup> An elaborate account of the work performed by the various State organizations was contributed to the American Historical Review for October, 1919, by Franklin F. Holbrook, "The Collection of State War Service Records." The proceedings of the National Association of State War Historical Organizations will be found in this report. A manuscript survey of war records in Washington prepared for the new association by Dr. Newton D. Mereness is in the Document Division of the Library of Congress; a more elaborate survey of the economic war records of the Government is in preparation by Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

*Secretary-treasurer.*—Waldo G. Leland, April 29, 1917–December 30, 1919.

*Members.*—Carl Becker, Milledge L. Bonham, Victor S. Clark, Robert D. W. Connor, Archibald C. Coolidge, William E. Dodd, Carl Russell Fish, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Charles H. Haskins, Charles Downer Hazen, Charles H. Hull, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Henry Johnson, William E. Lingelbach, Charles Moore, Wallace Notestein, Frederic L. Paxson, Frederick J. Turner.

To these should be added Dr. Leo F. Stock of the Carnegie Institution who, though not becoming a member of the board, served as its recorder and took an active part in its work.

Of the above, 6 were residents of Washington (Messrs. Clark, Hunt, Jameson, Leland, Moore, and Stock) and 12 resided there during all or part of the war (Messrs. Bonham, Fish, Ford, Greene, Harding, Hull, Munro, Notestein, Paxson, Schafer, Shotwell, and Turner); the other members were in Washington occasionally. There were also many other scholars in the capital during the war and from their counsel and active assistance the board profited much, as likewise from the advice, suggestions, and aid of many more whose duties lay elsewhere. In a very real sense the effective personnel of the board included a large section of the historical profession.

After its organization on April 29, 1917, the board held but few formal meetings, these being on May 7, May 31, and November 9–10, 1917, September 11, 1918, and December 30, 1919. During May and June, 1917, the members of the board who were in Washington held almost daily meetings of an informal character, of which, however, minutes were kept, and a general informal meeting was held in Philadelphia in December, 1917, during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The business of the board was transacted and its work directed by various committees. After November 9, 1917, an executive committee composed of the officers and of some of the members in Washington had the responsible direction of the board's activities and held frequent meetings; the executive committee was aided by four standing committees—on research, bibliography and records, education, and cooperation with other organizations and with the Government—and also by special committees appointed from time to time for temporary purposes. The period of full activity of the board extended from its organization until the end of 1918; during the first half of 1919 its work was confined chiefly to the educational survey and the Enemy Press Service, which have been described, and after July 1 its activities practically ceased.

The work of the board was supported chiefly by an appropriation from the Carnegie Institution, of Washington, made through its department of historical research. The department also provided

offices, telephone and other service, and the assistance of the members of its staff, two of whom devoted practically all of their time to the board's work. Two officers of the board were made temporary associates of the department, thus enabling them to come to Washington for periods of service extending over several months. The Enemy Press Bureau derived its principal support from a direct appropriation by the Carnegie Institution and had its offices in the latter's Administration Building.

The funds which the board received from other sources than the Carnegie Institution were mainly in the form of gifts for special purposes, chiefly the British lecture mission and the prize essay competition, and of royalties from the sale of the War Reader. There were also certain miscellaneous receipts, the most considerable of which was from the sale of the German and Austrian newspapers and periodicals.

The final statement of the treasurer on December 26, 1919,<sup>20</sup> showed a balance of over a thousand dollars, with the prospect of certain additional receipts in the form of further royalties. After authorizing the treasurer to meet any outstanding liabilities, or such as might be incurred in closing up the affairs of the board, it was voted that the sum remaining in the treasury, together with future royalties, be given to the American Historical Association to constitute the Andrew D. White Fund, the income of which was to be employed in the support of such international undertakings as might be approved by the association's two representatives in the American Council of Learned Societies, of which it is a constituent member. The board also bequeathed to the association its committee on history and education for citizenship and the idea of a committee on service.

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<sup>20</sup> *Final statement of receipts and expenditures, December 26, 1919.*

Receipts:

Department of historical research	\$11,558.08
Other sources	7,944.17

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19,502.25

Expenditures:

Services	\$2,517.82
Travel	1,559.57
Supplies	2,216.36
Bank charges	1.00
Prizes	4,670.00
Historical Outlook	2,006.18
Committee on history and education for citizenship	1,803.90
Enemy Press Bureau	1,752.15
British lecture mission	1,100.00
Training camp lectures	510.90
Services at Peace Inquiry	161.39
War Reader	50.00
French War Reader	47.60

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18,396.87

Balance	1,105.38
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It is impossible to estimate the permanent influence of the board and of its work. What it was able to do was only a small part of what was done by the historical profession as a whole, but the common experience demonstrated in convincing fashion that historical scholarship can serve effectively a multitude of needs and that historical scholars can contribute services of great value in time of emergency. Most important of all, however, was the fresh realization of the responsibility of the historian and of the teacher of history. It is through them that future generations will know and judge the period through which we have just lived. The conception which a people has of itself, of its principles of conduct and of its part in the affairs of the world, is the essential factor in determining its action at any given time, but this conception is itself determined chiefly by what it believes its past to have been and by the lessons which it draws from that past, and this belief and these lessons are shaped by the historian.

#### THE GENERAL WAR-TIME COMMISSION OF THE CHURCHES.

By SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT, Associate Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The General War-Time Commission of the Churches was organized September 20, 1917, by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, as the agency through which the Protestant churches of the country should cooperate in carrying on their work in behalf of the Army, the Navy, and the Nation during the war. During the five months preceding the organization of the General War-Time Commission preliminary activities had been carried on by the existing agencies of the Federal Council.

The first important historical record which the General War-Time Commission of the Churches has prepared appeared at the end of 1919 under the title, "War-Time Agencies of the Churches: Directory and Handbook," a volume of 337 pages, edited by Margaret Renton, office secretary of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, and published by the commission. This volume is an account of the war activities of the various denominational and inter-denominational agencies of the churches. It attempts to bring together the outstanding facts concerning the work which was done by the official authorized agencies of the churches for war service. It deals particularly with the agencies included in the constituency of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, but, for purposes of completeness, a brief record of other religious bodies, such as the Jewish Welfare Board, the National Catholic War Council, the Committee on War Activities of the Knights of Columbus, and of the Christian Science War Activities, is given. Part I of the volume



is a record of the work of the various denominational war agencies, giving in each case the personnel of the organization and of all its standing and special committees, and a summary of the lines of work which it carried on. The following organizations are thus treated:

The War Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention.

The War Council of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The War Work Commission of the Christian Church.

The National Service Commission of the Congregational Churches.

The War Emergency Committee for the Disciples of Christ.

The Commission on National Service of the Evangelical Association.

The War Welfare Commission of the Evangelical Synod of North America.

The American Friends Service Committee.

The National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare.

The Lutheran Church Board for Army and Navy, United States of America, of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States.

The War-Time Commission of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The National War Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The War Work Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The War Work Commission of the Methodist Protestant Church.

The United States Service Commission of the Moravian Church.

The War Work Commission of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

The General War Work Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The National Service Commission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The National Service Commission of the United Presbyterian Church.

The War Commission of the Episcopal Church.

The War-Time Commission of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The Christian Reformed War Service Commission.

The War Service Commission of the Reformed Church in America.

The National Service Commission of the Reformed Church in the United States.

The War Work Council of the Unitarian Churches.

The War Commission of the United Brethren Church.

The War Service Commission of the United Evangelical Church.

Part II of the volume gives a similar record of the activities of the various interdenominational and cooperative agencies representing the Protestant churches in various lines of work. A summarized statement of each of the following organizations is given:

The Committee on War Work of the American Bible Society.

The Committee on War Literature of the American Sunday School Union.

The General War-Time Commission of the Churches.

The War Work of the other commissions of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The United Committee on War Temperance Activities in the Army and Navy.

The Home Missions Council.

The National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War.

The War Service Department of the Salvation Army.

The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook.

The National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

The Interdenominational Young People's Commission.

The War Work Council of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

Special consideration is given to the work of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches as the inclusive organization made up of official representatives of practically all the existing Protestant agencies for war service. The work of its committees on Survey of the Field; on Army and Navy Chaplains; on Camp Neighborhoods; on Interchurch Buildings and War Production Communities; on the Welfare of Negro Troops; on Interchange of Preachers and Speakers between the Churches of America, Great Britain, and France; on the Employment of Returning Soldiers; on Social Hygiene; on Voluntary Chaplains; and other committees, is given in summarized form.

A supplement to the volume gives a complete list of the war-time publications of the various agencies of the Protestant Churches.

A further historical record is now in preparation—the Report of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches. This is to be a much more detailed history of the cooperative work of the churches through the General War-Time Commission of the Churches than is given in the War-Time Agencies of the Churches, described above. It will embody the official reports of its various committees, record all its more important actions and utterances, and present a general interpretation of the significance of the work which was done by the churches during the war. It will contain also appendixes giving statistical information concerning the number of regular chaplains

in the Army and Navy, voluntary chaplains, work done in war production communities and in the various other lines. The preparation of the volume is in the hands of Rev. Gaylord S. White, formerly associate secretary of the General War-time Commission.

The chief sources of data for this forthcoming record of the cooperative work of the churches during the war are as follows:

The official record of the fortnightly meetings of the executive committee of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches.

The official reports of the committees charged with responsibility for various phases of work.

The data secured through the press-clipping service concerning the work of the chaplains and the churches.

Extensive correspondence with chaplains, camp pastors, and other workers in the camps.

Two comprehensive surveys of the religious forces at work in the training camps, one prepared in November, 1917, the other in May, 1919.

The complete roster of the chaplains of the Army and Navy, together with their assignments and denominational affiliations.

The collection of war-time publications of the churches in the library of the Union Theological Seminary.

It will be observed from this statement that no effort is being made to secure a roster of all the members of the Protestant Churches who served in the war. The aim is rather to chronicle the service which was rendered by the authorized agencies of the churches.

#### NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL

By the COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RECORDS.

Summary of the work which has been done by the committee on historical records from its inception to April 1, 1920, and outline of what remains to be accomplished. Broadly speaking, there were three parts to the program:

I. A complete census of Catholic men in the service (Army, Navy, Marine Corps).

II. *The foundation of national Catholic archives*, or a central depot where the student of Catholic activity in the war would be enabled to find easily and efficiently all the source material to be used for that purpose. This source material, generally speaking, can be catalogued under three headings:

(a) Newspaper material: For this purpose a periodical department was instituted. Letters were sent out to all the Catholic papers, and immediately the files of the Catholic press of the country began to grow.

(b) Private letters and diaries of those in the service.

(c) Books, published by every sort of organization on American cooperation in the war, which would furnish materials for the Catholic historian.

III. *Cooperation*.—(a) Cooperation with the other national standing committees of the committee on special war activities. By this is meant that the

chairmen and secretaries of the other committees expected to be kept in constant touch with all newspaper accounts dealing with their particular field of activity.

(b) Cooperation with the Catholic press: It was hoped that the committee on historical records would be able to send out frequently, if not weekly, "releases" telling of the work done by individual Catholics in the service.

(c) Cooperation with other agencies outside the committee on special war activities.

### I. WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

A summary report of the work that has been done should contain a reply to the following general question: "How far has the committee succeeded in compiling and completing an accurate record of Catholic American activity during the Great War?"

Reports of the activities of the committee on historical records were made to the committee on special war activities, usually at monthly intervals, the first one being given on July 11, 1918. These reports show the following results:

#### (A) COMPLETION OF SERVICE LISTS.

In May, 1918, a general letter was sent to all pastors in the country, requesting a list of the men in the service. This was followed in August by a second general letter calling for the names of the men called in the second draft. The cooperation of the diocesan chanceries was secured in collecting the names. A card index of the parishes which reported was made up, the card for each parish containing the number of men in service in the various branches. After this analytical index was completed work was begun on a card index containing the service record of each Catholic who served. The results thus far in this whole work are as follows: Parishes reported, 4,815; total names reported, 243,349; individual service cards made, 58,310; itemized by dioceses in the following table:

#### *Individual census cards written to April 1, 1920.*

Baltimore-----	4,604	Scranton-----	3,338
Boston-----	24,173	Wichita-----	219
Chicago-----	3,548	Wheeling-----	1,875
Dubuque-----	060	Wilmington-----	128
Philadelphia-----	2,951	Winona-----	267
Altoona-----	3,307	Belmont-----	37
Erie-----	827	Alaska-----	34
Harrisburg-----	941	Ruthenian-Greek-----	36
Peoria-----	635		
Pittsburgh-----	10,788	Total-----	58,310

#### (B) COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

1. *Catholic newspapers*.—Files of 61 newspapers, printed in the English language and 19 in foreign languages, are collected in the periodical department. These files are more or less complete from the beginning of the war. A card index of all war material in 42 of the more prominent papers has been completed up to July 1, 1919.

2. *Catholic magazines*.—We have files of 43 American Catholic magazines, printed in English and 7 foreign-language magazines, together with 15 college publications.

3. *Episcopal pronouncements.*—A number of the hierarchy have sent us complete files of their pronouncements and addresses during the war. From many others we have received occasional papers of importance.

4. *Published reports of Catholic gatherings incidental to the war.*—We have gathered through the Knights of Columbus campaign committee and through the efforts of a number of interested individuals newspaper clippings of detailed meetings held by Catholics throughout the country. These clippings approximate 10,000 in number. In addition to these we have on hand upwards of 1,000 memorial booklets recounting the various memorial gatherings held in various parts of the country.

5. *All other material.*—Our archives contain about 4,000 miscellaneous papers, such as letters of historical importance, diaries, reports of chaplains, photographs, etc. These have all been indexed analytically and filed for ready reference. Included in this material are the complete files of the war council's committee, which handled the drive for funds in connection with the committee or other war-service agencies.

#### (C) PROBLEMS OF COOPERATION.

The work of the other committees was soon found to be cognate to each other, but not of that distinctive historical bearing which necessitated prompt cooperation on the part of our committee. Had this cooperation been carried out in a systematic manner each one of the standing committees needing guidance or accounts of the work being done should have delegated one of its own staff as a searcher in their periodical department.

### II. WHAT REMAINS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED.

#### (A) COMPLETION OF SERVICE LISTS.

It is estimated that fully 1,000,000 Catholic Americans served their country during the great war. As we already have the names of approximately 250,000, it remains for us to gather in the records of 750,000 more. These names are to be secured from the 5,977 parishes which have not as yet sent in any report and from the 4,815 parishes which reported, since many of those lists were sent in before the full number was known. These remaining names should be collected in the following manner:

1. Letters should be sent to chancellors of all dioceses asking for any lists they may have on file and for assistance in securing cooperation of pastors in completing the census.

2. Letters will then be sent to every parish which has not reported, and follow-up letters will be sent out until the census is completed.

3. The reports received will be analyzed and indexed as heretofore, and individual census cards will be written. This means the making of 5,977 parish service cards and approximately 940,000 individual census cards.

4. After all the names are in our files they should be compared with the rosters in the adjutant general's office of each State, in order to secure a more complete and accurate record of the service of each man.

#### (B) COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

1. *Catholic newspapers.*—(a) The files must be completed by securing issues not yet received covering the period between 1914 and the present. Where these copies can not be secured from the publisher it will be necessary to inter-

est subscribers to send in the papers we need. This has been done already in several cases with good results.

(b) Some papers have never been received, and further efforts should be made to secure complete files for the period of the war.

(c) The card indexing of war material in all these papers must be completed. To do this it will be necessary, in addition to having some one to catalogue the English-language papers, to solicit the assistance of persons who can index the war items in French, German, Polish, Bohemian, and other foreign-language papers.

2. *Catholic magazines.*—Steps must be taken to complete the files of our magazines and to make up an index of the war articles in them.

3. *Episcopal pronouncements.*—It is believed that it will now be possible to secure sets of Episcopal pronouncements from each diocese. Those already received have been catalogued and additions to this file will be indexed upon receipt.

4. *Published reports of Catholic gatherings.*—While our newspapers and other files contain a great many such reports, a much larger number remain unrecorded in our archives, especially those reported in the public press. In order to complete our archives it will be necessary to have a report of every important Catholic gathering incidental to the war.

5. *All other material.*—While receipts of letters, diaries, photographs, etc., so far have been encouraging, this source of material has only been touched. Appeals must be made through the Catholic press and through pastors to make people realize the necessity of furnishing us with such material. In addition to our request for complete service lists, we should appeal to pastors to have their parishioners send us every bit of material of possible historical interest.

#### COOPERATION WITH OTHER COMMITTEES.

With the winding up of the other standing committees of the Committee on Special War Activities, we expect to secure for our archives the files of these committees, as the War Council archives should properly be in the custody of the Committee on Historical Records.

### III. COMPOSITION OF THE HISTORY.

With all the necessary material in hand, properly analyzed and indexed, it will be possible to take up the work of actually writing a complete scientific history of Catholic American activity during the great war. The tentative outline for this comprehensive work is as follows:

I. Catholics in past American wars.

II. The Catholic Church during the period of American neutrality (August, 1914–April, 1917).

III. Catholics and the call to arms—the draft.

IV. Catholics in training schools and camps.

V. Catholic social, educational, recreational work in the camps.

VI. Catholics at the front—the Catholic honor roll.

VII. The organization of Catholic relief, national and local.

VIII. Catholic cooperation with national and State war administration.

IX. Catholics at home during the war—the fight behind the lines.

X. Catholics and the financing of the war: Liberty loans, war-saving stamps, contributions to welfare work, etc.

XI. Catholic contribution to allied relief—e. g., Belgium, etc.

XII. Catholic women and the war: (a) Catholics in the Red Cross and Army Nurse Corps; (b) sisterhoods; (c) other agencies of welfare at home and abroad.

XIII. Catholic students in the Students' Army Training Corps.

XIV. Effects of the war on Catholic life in America.

XV. Catholics at the close of the war.

Mr. Michael Williams, editor of the National Catholic War Council Bulletin, is now preparing a story of Catholic participation in the war, which will consist of about 400 pages of text and will be published September 1.<sup>20</sup> This book will outline in narrative form the record of American Catholic activity during the war in all its phases, and will be a companion volume to the recently published Knights of Columbus book.<sup>21</sup> While, of course, it will not be exhaustive, it will be as accurate as possible, and will furnish a very good starting point for the complete record which we hope to publish eventually.

#### THE COLLECTION OF JEWISH WAR RECORDS.

By JULIAN LAEVITT, Director Office of War Records, American Jewish Committee.

The establishment of a historical record of Jewish service in the war was undertaken in November, 1917, by the American Jewish Committee, acting in cooperation with the Jewish Welfare Board, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Jewish Publication Society, and other related organizations, under the immediate direction of Dr. Cyrus Adler.

The actual search for material was attended with problems of exceptional difficulty. As is well known, the official records of the Army and Navy were not accessible during the war; and even if they had been accessible they would have been of comparatively slight value in the initial stages of the undertaking, as they make no note of religious affiliations. Unofficial lists were not in existence. The Jews in the service came from every section, city, and village in the country, were scattered in every branch of the service, and in many cases were not affiliated with any known Jewish organizations or institutions. The combing out of their names involved, therefore, the organization of a systematic search among the men in the camps and at the front and among their friends and relatives at home. The Jewish Welfare Board assumed the first part of the task, instructing its workers in America and overseas to forward all information of a statistical character gathered by or known to them, including religious censuses taken by the board or by their agencies, furlough records for Jewish holidays, and individual registration cards signed by the Jewish soldiers in the welfare huts. The office of Jewish war records, on the other hand, concentrated upon the families and friends of the soldiers and sailors in the United States. To this end it enlisted the cooperation of all religious, fraternal,

<sup>20</sup> American Catholics in the War. New York, 1921.

<sup>21</sup> The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War. New Haven, Conn., 1920.

industrial, and labor organizations throughout the country, distributing among them several million registration cards calling for information as to name of soldier; home and service address; age, nativity, branch of service, rank, regiment, company; date of induction, or discharge, whether volunteered or drafted; in what actions engaged, and whether wounded, cited, or promoted.

In addition the office instituted a press-clipping service for the collection of data as to all reports of enlistments, service-flag dedications, honor rolls, and all other possible sources of information. All Army orders and assignments, casualty lists, the records of local draft boards, Red Cross lists, and similar sources were thoroughly searched and followed up for possible clues.

From all these sources there were collected more than 500,000 records, which were carefully collated, and, after duplicates were eliminated, copied in triplicate, and filed in three separate catalogues—one arranged alphabetically and so devised as to bring together automatically all variant forms of names which are especially liable to misplacements because of common errors in reporting, copying, or transliterating; another catalogue arranged by branches of the service, with officers and honor men "signaled"; and a third arranged by States, cities, and towns.

At present the collection covers about 150,000 records of individual soldiers, sailors, and marines, freed of all duplications; about 25,000 press clippings systematically arranged; numerous photographs; letters and documents of historical value; and about 8,000 questionnaires (holographic, with few exceptions) embodying the following information as to commissioned officers, casualties, and citations:

1. Name in full.
2. Present service or business address.
3. Legal residence.
4. Date and place of birth.
5. Birthplace of parents.
6. Education.
7. Brief summary of civilian career before joining service.
8. Full name and highest rank.
9. Arm of service.
10. Branch.
11. Method of entrance into service.
12. Date of entrance into service.
13. Rank or rating upon entrance into service and first organization, unit, station, or ship.
14. Date of leaving service. (If still in service, so state.)
15. Highest rank or rating and last organization, unit, station, or ship.



16. Promotions or official recommendations for promotion received, with dates thereof.

17. Length of time spent overseas or afloat, counting toward service chevrons.

18. Duties and general location of organization, unit, or ship.

19. Participated in the following actions.

20. Honors, medals, citations, official expressions of appreciation or thanks, etc.

21. Casualty. (Circumstantial details as to nature of casualty, time and place, name of hospital, etc.)

22. Summary of service record in form of chronological statement of official movements and duties. (Wherever possible, send photographs, diaries, copies of official citations, etc.)

As the process of gathering and verifying the data is still under-way, it is as yet impossible to furnish definitive figures bearing upon the record of American Jews in the war. Certain preliminary findings have, however, been published in the first and second reports of this office, which may be had upon application to the American Jewish committee, 31 Union Square, New York City.

#### THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE WAR HISTORY ORGANIZATIONS.

Responding to the call of Dr. James Sullivan, State historian of New York, representatives of the war history organizations of 16 States met in Washington, D. C., in September, 1919, to discuss problems confronting them in the collection and compilation of the records of the participation of their respective States in the World War, and in particular to determine the most effective and economical means of procuring information from the national archives. The immediate outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the National Association of State War History Organizations with the following constitution:

I. The name of this organization shall be the National Association of State War History Organizations.

II. The headquarters of the association shall be located at Washington, D. C.

III. The purpose of the association shall be to facilitate the gathering of historical materials relating to the participation of the several States in the World War from the archives of the United States Government and other central depositories, and to provide for the exchange of publications and information among the members.

IV. The membership of the association shall be limited to any official organization or agency in each State or Territory of the Union empowered to collect material pertaining to the World War.

V. The officers of the association shall be a president, a vice president, and a secretary-treasurer, no two of whom shall be from the same State or Territory. The duties of these officers shall be those usually appertaining to their respective offices.

VI. The executive committee shall consist of the officers of the association and two additional members elected by the association. Meetings of the executive committee shall be held on call of the president, or upon the written request of any three members of the committee. This committee shall be empowered to make provision for carrying out the purposes of this association.

VII. The annual meeting shall be held in April of each year in the city of Washington. Special meetings may be called by the executive committee, and shall be called upon the written request of 10 members.

VIII. The officers and two elective members of the executive committee shall be chosen each year at the annual meeting.

IX. A quorum for a meeting of the association shall consist of a majority of the members of the association. A quorum for a meeting of the executive committee shall be three.

X. This association shall come into existence as soon as 10 official organizations have joined. There shall be an annual membership fee of \$200 for each member of this association, payable in advance. The funds of this association shall be expended at the direction of the executive committee, subject to any specific instructions of the association.

Dr. Newton D. Mereness, director of research of the association in Washington, has made a preliminary survey of the records in the national depositories which may be considered of value to State war history organizations. The report of this survey, with three appendixes, is a document of 126 typewritten pages. A more detailed study of the records of the Food Administration, the Shipping Board, and of the hearings before the House and Senate committees, is well underway. The number of inquiries coming to the Washington office is growing steadily and attention to a request from some one State has often been a means of acquiring information of value to other States. There is also being assembled in the Washington office a small collection of documents, any one of which may, upon application, be loaned to a member of the association.

#### THE AMERICAN LEGION.

By EBEN PUTNAM, National Historian.

Such activities of the American Legion as might be classed as "along historical lines" have been to the present time chiefly co-operation with organizations established for the purpose of collecting and preserving data relating to the World War. The American Legion is the largest organization of its kind in the world, and its activities are manifold. It is essentially an organization of young men, men from every walk in life, individually holding varying

ideas with regard to matters generally, but unanimous in their love for their country. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the organization along with its welfare committees, and the usual activities of an organization of veterans of the military and naval service, has developed plans for increasing the interest every veteran should have in his country's history and his community and for inculcating American ideas in the mind and heart of the alien resident with us.

The former is handled through the department and post historians, the latter through the Americanization committees of the national and departmental organizations.

Nearly every department and nearly every post of the American Legion has provided for the office of historian, and nearly every one of these has filled that office by election. The constitution of the national organization did not provide for such an officer, and when the need arose for a national official who might aid in coordinating the efforts of the department historians, the executive officers of the legion selected the historian of the Massachusetts department to act as national historian.<sup>22</sup>

The legion historians are primarily concerned in preserving data pertaining to the history of their respective units; that is, the department or post. The post historian is particularly concerned in collecting data concerning the members of the post, especially their service in the war.

Most of these department and post officers have had no training in historical work and have had to be instructed with regard to the manner in which they should perform their duties. It has been the policy of the national organization to urge the local legion historians to cooperate with whatever agency was in existence for preserving data relating to the war. In many instances this policy has been carried out with considerable success. Town war-history committees, State and county war-history organizations, local libraries, and historical societies have benefited by the help given by the legion organizations. As time passes and as the various posts become more stable in their membership the cooperation between the legion posts and local historical organizations will increase.

The American Legion is as yet a young organization. Its policies along lines of historical work have yet to be established. So far it has assisted in the collection of the records, service and family, of its members; the collection of data concerning the relatives of men

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<sup>22</sup> At the second national convention the constitution of the American Legion was amended to provide for a "National Historian" elected by the National Executive Committee, which body prescribes his duties. Eben Putnam was chosen to the office thus established.

who died in the service; the compilation of a complete report of all persons who died in the service; the collection of materials for museum exhibits (loaned by legion members or others upon the recommendation of the legion); and the sponsoring of movements for the erection of proper war memorials.

The work which it has been suggested might be done by department and post historians is best learned by the annexed bulletins, the first intended for department, the second for post historians. In many cases the recipient of these bulletins has adopted the suggestions with enthusiasm and has succeeded in accomplishing a substantial beginning.

As this note will doubtless reach the hands of secretaries and other officers of historical societies throughout the country, it is hoped that they will appreciate the fact that the American Legion is willing to help in the great task of collecting data for the history of the part taken by towns and other communities in the war and will inform themselves of the address of the post historians in their vicinity and obtain their cooperation in this work. Under proper guidance great assistance can doubtless be obtained from the legion posts.

#### APPENDIX.

*The American Legion, National Headquarters, Meridian Life Building,  
Indianapolis, Ind.—Bulletin.*

JUNE 11, 1920.

Organization No. 50.

Subject: Department historian, duties of.

1. The duties of the department historian should bring him in touch with national headquarters, post officials, and with Federal, State, and local organizations concerned in collecting data pertaining to the war, its preservation and utilization.

2. These duties naturally divide themselves under the following heads: Annalist, necrologist, archivist, librarian, cabinet keeper.

(A) Annalist: The department historian is an annalist, inasmuch as he makes a report yearly of an historical nature. These yearly reports over a number of years, the annals of the department, should be an inspiration and guide to the historian who in years to come will write the history of the department. The yearly report should summarize (a) department activities; (b) post activities.

(B) Necrologist: As necrologist, the department historian should preserve obituary notices of department officials, important members of the legion who have died within the department, and of officers of posts who died in office. He should have a complete list of all members of the legion who have died within the department, with statement of their service and what can be ascertained concerning their life and their immediate family.

(C) Archivist and librarian: The department historian should have charge of all printed and manuscript materials dealing with the World War, or any other subjects, which come into possession of the department headquarters. All department records not in current use should pass into his charge. Records of dormant or defunct posts should be turned over to the care of the department historian. He should be consulted by posts planning to make collections pertaining to the war, and with regard to selection of depositories, should posts determine to part with any collections.

(D) Cabinet keeper: All articles other than printed or written narratives and books, such as relics, souvenirs, things of curious and interesting nature, such as naturally would find a place of rest in a museum, which come into possession of the department headquarters should pass to the care of the department historian. A collection of this nature would form in time a museum. The term cabinet keeper is used in the sense of curator.

3. It is essential that the department historian should communicate with post historians as occasion demands. He should have knowledge of local conditions existing wherever a post is situated, in order that he may be in a position to advise the post historian regarding the best method of carrying on his work. To this end information should be sought of local post officials, to discover whether there exist local organizations which could cooperate with the post.

4. The department historian should be informed concerning the existence and activities of organizations which are gathering information concerning the war. He should cooperate with State commissions, historical societies, and libraries engaged in this work. He should see that proper recognition is extended to him as representing the American Legion in the department, so that the American Legion, representing ex-service men and women, will be consulted with regard to the work these bodies carry on.

5. Whatever publications of a nature affecting the legion in the department are issued by public authority should be filed with the department historian. He should endeavor to obtain copies of all publications issued within the department which relate to participation in the war, preparation for war, and resulting effects. The collection of such material should be carried on in no narrow spirit, rather too much than too little.

6. The department historian should report at stated intervals to the national adjutant. These reports should cover:

(a) Principal features of his work as department historian since last report, and development of work formerly reported as in progress.

(b) What laws or legislative acts concern the collection and preservation of data concerning the part the State has taken in the war, what changes may have been made or are in contemplation, with remarks pertinent to the subject.

(c) What commissions are in existence, or contemplated, dealing with matters which should come under his observation, and what is being accomplished by these commissions.

7. The annual report of the department historian should be in print, and copies distributed to national headquarters, the various department historians, all posts within the department, and such libraries and other places of deposit as may desire them. In case the annual report is not printed, duplicate copies should be filed at national headquarters.

8. Attention is directed to a bulletin entitled "Notes on historical work" submitted to national headquarters by the Minnesota Historical Society, copies

of which may be had upon application to the organization division, national headquarters, and which every department historian is requested to procure and place on file.

9. In order that department historians may familiarize themselves with some of the activities of State war record commissions, they are advised that by application to Prof. A. E. McKinley, secretary of the National Association of State War History Organizations, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., information may be obtained concerning matters of interest. Also, that a summary of the proceedings and publications of the various units eligible to membership in the above association was printed in the October, 1919, *American Historical Review* (address Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.), under the title, "The collection of State war service records." Membership in the American Historical Association is suggested as an aid to keeping in touch with historical conditions throughout the country.

10. National headquarters of the American Legion has been very ably assisted in preparing the outlines of all historical work by Eben Putnam, department historian of Massachusetts. Mr. Putnam will very gladly give any assistance desired. Address any requests to him at Wellesley Farms, Mass.

LEMUEL BOLLES,  
*National Adjutant.*

*The American Legion, National Headquarters, Meridian Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.—Bulletin.*

JULY 19, 1920.

Organization No. 54.

Subject: Post historian, duties of.

1. The post historian should be selected for his interest, his methodical habit, his intelligence, and tactfulness. These are fundamental requirements for the position, which is one of no light duties and responsibilities. Faithfulness in the face of repeated discouragements will be found to be an essential qualification, but eventually the work accomplished by the post historian will be found to be not only of importance but increasing interest and value.

2. The post historian can well bear in mind the words of the department historian of Iowa, "the patriotic duty of the hour is the collection and preservation of the historical materials relating to the World War." Ten years from now the work of the historian will be more appreciated than it is to-day.

3. The work of historian can be best performed in small to medium sized posts. Large posts should make provision to distribute the work of post historian among several members, appointing committees to assist the historian, each member to have charge of certain sections. As post historians serve without pay, have duties which if properly performed must interfere largely with their leisure hours, too much can not be expected of them.

4. The duties of the post historian affords a wide field of activity. There should be close and effective cooperation between the adjutant and historian; the work of one supplements that of the other.

5. The average community will quickly respond to well-directed efforts of the post historian; his work will interest people in the post and will help the post and the community as well. Do not fail to realize that if valued letters and other materials are loaned or given to the post for preservation there is created an obligation which is sacred and which should be lived up to. Here the post

historian is responsible, for he should, as a rule, have charge of collection of materials of historical nature.

6. Some of the duties of the post historians:

(a) Obtain from each member as complete as possible a statement of his or her participation in the war. It is advisable not to confine the work to members only. Complete records of every person eligible to membership should be secured. Interest the families of the men and women who served, and through their help much valuable information and material can be collected.

(b) Get information regarding the family affiliation of members, also sufficient facts concerning their life before and since the war to enable a brief but satisfactory biographical notice to be prepared should the occasion arise. Eventually it may be desired to publish a post history, in which case, unless attention is given these matters as members are received, needed information will be lacking.

(c) Obtain copies of letters, extracts from diaries, written while in the service, copies of orders affecting any post member relating to decorations, citations, etc.

(d) Obtain information regarding those who died in the service, who if living would be eligible to membership. An honor roll containing the names of those who died in the service should be in every post headquarters. Permission might well be sought of their next of kin to enroll their names as charter members.

(e) Cooperate with the local historical society, the local library if such organizations exist. If they have done nothing along the lines of collecting data concerning the town's part in the war, try to stimulate and develop a proper interest in your work, and obtain their cooperation. Seek information from the county or State historical society, or from the war records commission, if one is appointed in your State. Representatives of such organizations will be very glad to help advance your work.

(f) Keep informed regarding the activities of the post, especially of matters which should be mentioned in the annual report of the historian. Do not depend upon the formal records of the adjutant; file everything which is printed concerning the post.

(g) Keep in touch with the department historian; be prompt to answer inquiries; be prepared to make your annual report to the department historian when called upon before the annual department convention.

7. National headquarters has compiled a form for the use of post historians in gathering the individual records, and sample copies may be obtained upon request.

8. The above suggestions were compiled by our acting national historian, Eben Putnam, of Wellesley Farms, Mass., and approved by national headquarters.

LEMUEL BOLLES,  
*National Adjutant.*

#### ARIZONA.

By H. A. HUBBARD, of the Department of History, University of Arizona.

The various departments of the University of Arizona cooperated in a course of lectures to the student body, and an outline of the entire course was prepared by these departments under the direction

of Miss Frances Perry, head of the department of English composition.

A number of the members of the faculty gave lectures in Tucson and other towns of the State on the historical background of the war.

The Arizona Historical and Archæological Society has made an effort to have all the newspapers of the State bound and filed, so that this record may be permanently preserved. A meeting has been called to attempt to secure the cooperation of various organizations in preserving a record of their work.

#### ARKANSAS.

By DALLAS T. HERNDON, Secretary of the Arkansas Historical Commission, from his report January, 1919, to the Board of Trustees.

Now that the Great War is over, even though it be but a few days ago that the guns ceased firing, it would seem to be not a day too early to begin maturing and executing plans for salvaging the history of Arkansas's part in the greatest of all wars "for right against might—for justice, freedom, and peace." Indeed, to have waited until after the war was won, even though it had been but the day after peace; to begin saving material for the history of the mighty efforts and achievements daily in process about us now all but two years since, would have been in our present circumstance, it seems, nothing short of criminal negligence.

The particular circumstance here to which reference is had—that circumstance which has made it not only possible but also a duty, at least implied, to store up day by day as the war went on the essential facts of Arkansas history actually in the act of unfolding—is the fact that the State maintains a department of public archives and history under the form and title of the Arkansas History Commission. In peace as in war, in times of stress or in times of easy-going contentment, the business of the commission is clearly set down in words to this effect: Keep always reaching out hands in every direction, guided by discriminating eyes, firmly grasping and eagerly gathering in such information as will in aftertime reveal the essential facts of the history of all those sundry activities in flux and vital to the material and spiritual development of the State as a whole.

For a view of the whole mass of matter saved thus far as seemingly material to the history of the State in the war, I doubt if I can possibly define it better at a single stroke than I did in a letter of date



as early as August, 1917, addressed the State council of defense. Says that letter in part:

Nearly everything of any particular significance in the way of information concerning the status or movement of the Arkansas National Guard organizations since the day this commission first began its work, a not inconsiderable fund of information revealed in dispatches relating to the mobilization and tour of service of the Arkansas National Guard on the Mexican border last year (1916), as well, and even more especially, nearly everything, I believe, of any importance that has been and is being done or said in Arkansas by way of preparation for war since the declaration against Germany—we have made it our business and mean to continue systematically to treasure up day by day in the public archives of this commission agreeable to what I esteem the very best practical method for getting at the facts of history contained in the daily news and sundry contemporary reports.

If, on the other hand, now one turn with me to the card catalogue of this material; if one but scan only hastily the principal subjects which appear at the top of each card in the file, and take no account for the moment of all the other more searching details set out in the index outline obviously suggestive of nearly everything of any bearing at all upon the war where in any manner it has touched Arkansas, here it is—a copy of the subjects so presented in the order of one's a, b, c's:

War, the Great—In Arkansas: Aliens; Army; Aviation; Banks; Boards of commerce; Cantonments; Casualties; Censorship; Children; Churches; Civil War veterans; Council of Defense; Court-martials; Daylight saving; Declaration of war; Decorations; Deserters; Discharges; Discipline; Disloyalty; District boards; Draft; Exemption boards; Farmers; Flag, the; Food Administration; Food conservation; Food preparedness; Foreign born; Fort Roots; Four Minute Men; French Orphans; Fuel Administration; Fuel conservation; Give-a-bushel; Health; Heroism; Home Guards; Hospitality; Hospitals; Industry; Insignia; Insurance; Jews; K. of C.; Labor; Legislature; Letters; Liberty loans; Libraries; Liquor; Loyalty; Medical Corps; Members of Congress; Military bands; Mining; National airs; National Guard; Navy; Navy League; Negroes; Newspapers; Patriotism; Peace; Post Office; Prisoners of; Profitteering; Promotions; Questionnaires; Reconstruction; Recreation; Red Cross; Relics; Salvation Army; Sanitation; Schools; Schools of officers; Service flags; Slackers; South, the; Sports; Taxation; Thrift; Transportation; Tuberculosis; Unfit, the; Universal service; Vice commission; Volunteers; Valor honored; Weather; Woman's service; Woman suffragists; Y. M. C. A.

Again, if one were actually in quest of information about any one of these all but a hundred subjects which appear in the aforesaid outline of general topics, as, let us say, for example, the Red Cross, then the choice of material even now at one's disposal would comprise the following articles, and many more besides:

Red Cross; Parade in Little Rock; Tour State; Pulaski County Society organized; Story of growth; State must do its part; Drive by counties; Why it

should be helped; Train to tour State; Pulaski County over top in financial campaign; To raise \$5,000 in Argenta; One thousand members march in parade; State gives \$664,000; Fund exhausted; Hospital unit T mobilized; State's quota of subscriptions; State's quota of members, 325,000; Campaign manager prays; Headquarters opened at Hotel Marion; In time of disaster; Mass meeting; State's work for, praised; Raising funds for; State's quota oversubscribed; Organize for Christmas drive; and Pulaski County; State surpasses quota; Organize for selling seals of; State oversubscribes quota; Making Christmas drive; Carry bundles and help; Campaign for pure milk; Made Navy garments; Workers hold rally, etc.

With reference to the matter of starting a World War museum in connection with our State history museum work, I quote the following from the same report:

It has long since occurred to me that, at the proper time, measures should be taken to procure for the history museum of the State an impressive collection of memorials commemorative of the deeds and experiences of Arkansas soldiers in camp and on the battlefields of France. The spirit, if not indeed the letter of the law to which our State museum owes its existence, seems ample in the sweep and compass of its aims to warrant us in proceeding forthwith to negotiate plans, to the end that the commission be, in the fullness of time, fitted out handsomely with suitable exhibits of the war. Agreeable to that view of the provision of law which makes it "the duty of the commission to collect and preserve memorials of the Mexican and Civil Wars," and otherwise "to build up a museum at the capitol," I have written several letters to friends in France who, I thought, might possibly be in a position to help us forward such a plan. The following letter, for example, written and posted November 12, the day after peace was announced, purposes the minimum of what, it seems, the commission ought to vouchsafe upon this head:

"Now that the war is over—Little Rock celebrated the peace only yesterday, and such a spontaneous manifestation of happiness I never expect to see again—I venture to hope the stress upon you has somewhat relaxed. Moreover, the times now seem ripe for laying out certain plans as regards the work of the history commission, which I believe you can and will gladly help us perfect. Whence I presume to write you at this juncture.

"Arkansas will want and must have a 'War Museum' for the benefit of those of us now living and those to come after, in order that we may thus be enabled to visualize something of the grim realities of this greatest, no doubt, of all wars. We have the place to equip such a museum, and I am just now getting up our biennial budget of recommendations to the legislature, which meets, as you know, in January. I trust the commission may think proper to urge an appropriation to be used in acquiring the necessary collection of memorials. Wherefore, I am writing to know if you can not at once procure and send me a collection of material such as you may think proper, said collection to be set aside, marked permanently, as your personal contribution. I know of no one better qualified than yourself to make a suitable collection. If you can do this thing I believe it will be a service never to be forgotten; assuredly I shall not forget it. I wish you might start a large box moving this way at the earliest possible moment. I shall hope to hear from you very shortly."

Agreeable to the plans set out above, we have received and catalogued nearly a thousand relics of the various battlefields in France where Arkansas soldiers and other Americans participated in the Great War. The following introduction to the catalogue of the aforesaid souvenirs of the Great War is taken from my last annual report, submitted to the board of trustees on the 17th of this January:

The exhibits in this quarter of the Arkansas History Commission are catalogued below by sections in the order of display, the first cabinet being designated cabinet A. Each item listed is accompanied by significant descriptive matter, which has been carefully selected and briefly phrased from informal memoranda furnished the director of the department by Mr. Gulley, who, at the instance and request of the history commission, made the collection while in France in the employment of the overseas postal service of the American Expeditionary Forces. It was and is the aim of the commission, as vouchsafed by the measures taken in season to procure this, an initial collection, to make forthwith a beginning in the matter of collecting memorials of the World War, which collection is here distinctly set apart as a World War museum. Such a museum, to which it is hoped may be added hereafter from time to time other more significant donations touching the part which Arkansas played in the war, will stand, in some small degree, as a fitting reminder through the years to come of the spirit of patriotism which the citizenship of Arkansas evinced at home in loyal self-denial and in deeds of valor on the field of battle in an hour when the mettle of every man's loyalty to the Nation was tried in the fire of a national peril.

The history men of Arkansas took charge of the war aims course, which was given to the Students' Army Training Corps. They were also active in the drives for the sale of Liberty bonds and for the collection of funds for the Red Cross and other war agencies.

#### CALIFORNIA.

By GENEVIEVE AMBROSE, Secretary, War History Department, California Historical Survey Commission.

The formal preparation, during the progress of the war, of histories of the organization and operation of different branches of war service began when the war history committee of the State council of defense was organized in March, 1918, at which time circulars were sent to every war agency advising them of the importance of preserving the records of California's part in the war; and later, in August, 1918, there was sent to every war agency in the State a request for a comprehensive report of its activities. Many of the war agencies, such as the State food administration and the Red Cross, etc., diverted a part of their staffs to the preparation of the historical records, and other war agencies requested their several departments to furnish complete reports of their particular fields of work.

In some cases the official annual reports of the organization and operation of the war agencies served as excellent historical records. It has been discovered recently that in a few instances the preservation of the war history started prior to the organization of the State war history committee. This is true of a few of the California exemption boards. One local board in particular, realizing the importance of the preservation of war records, began by having one of the local papers photograph each group of men as they were called by the board. This plan was carried on up to the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, in order to secure a complete gallery of all the men inducted into service.

The war history committee of the State council of defense, the members of which were appointed by the director of the State defense body in 1918, was the first central State agency to undertake the collection and preservation of the California war records. The plan of organization called for the formation, under the direction of the executive secretary of the State committee, of a county war history committee in each county in the State. Nominations for the members and chairmen of the county committees were usually made by the chairman of the county division of the State council of defense to the executive secretary of the State war history committee, and by him submitted to the director of the State council of defense, who then made the formal appointments. No set form of organization was prescribed, so that each county committee was created as best fitted the conditions of that particular county. It was aimed to have on each county committee representatives of the various war agencies, librarians, editors, history teachers, and other persons who might seem best qualified to render assistance. The work outlined by the State war history committee for its county committees was of a twofold character: First, they were expected to prepare reports or contemporaneous histories dealing with local war activities, and to gather and compile such other statistical information as might relate to the part taken by their respective counties in the great conflict. Second, they were expected to assemble and preserve newspaper clippings, war programs, war addresses, photographs, manuscripts, documents, posters, and fleeting war history material of every character. Special attention was directed to obtaining biographical sketches and photographs of all men in our country's service.

Upon organization, which occurred before the termination of hostilities seemed likely, the county committee was expected to prepare an exhaustive and detailed history of the county's participation in the war to date, with quarterly reports in the future. To insure

uniformity, a general form of report was arranged, in which were set forth the various war activities upon which a detailed report from each county committee was desired, among which were Red Cross; liberty loan, war-saving stamp, and thrift drives; food administration; four-minute men; women's organizations; legal aid committee; Americanization committee; war community council; farm labor committee; public service reserve; medical and dental aid; Boy Scouts; soldiers' welfare; rehabilitation of returned soldiers; public health, etc. On each county committee one person was designated as historian and was made responsible for compiling the full report for the county. The suggestion was made by the State war history committee that the county historian should parcel out the work to representatives of the war agencies, and that after the reports of the various war activities had been assembled the full report should then be forwarded to the State war history committee. The State committee prescribed a set of uniform rules regarding the reports and records, such as preserving the source material from which various reports were compiled, using a uniform-size page for the reports, making duplicate copies of each report, noting whether or not the records of the organization considered in the report were kept in a full and accurate manner, and whether or not there was danger of their being lost to future historians. The State war history committee laid great stress upon the importance of collecting biographical sketches and photographs of all men in the service, and suggested the cooperation of the local newspapers in every community to make this collection complete.

On January 31, 1919, the State council of defense formally went out of existence, at which time its various committees lost their legal status. However, the executive chairman of the State council of defense, on the date of the council's disbandment, recommended that certain of its committees, among which was the war history committee, be continued until provision could be made for their support by other existing agencies. The work of the war history committee was therefore continued and largely supported by the State board of control, where it was located until July, 1919. The California Historical Survey Commission, whose secretary was appointed executive secretary of the war history committee, also devoted a portion of its funds to the maintenance of the war history work. During the interim between January and July the State legislature met and enacted a law which placed the work of compiling the war records under the jurisdiction of the California Historical Survey Commission, where it was duly transferred from the State board of

control on August 1, 1919, and placed under the direction of the war history department of the historical survey commission.

The plans for carrying on the work which were made by the war history committee of the State council of defense have been followed in the main by the war history department. With the development of the work, however, it has been necessary to make a few changes. For instance, the war history department advocates the enlargement of the county committee to include representatives of the following organizations: Local exemption boards; local posts of the American Legion; local press; boards of trade or chambers of commerce; board of supervisors; women's clubs (women especially active in war work); librarians (county and city); district attorney. In addition to this list the county committee have been urged to secure the cooperation of local historians and historical societies, and also representatives of educational institutions and of the various civilian war activities. The county chairmen have been asked to make the nomination of the members whom they wish to add to their committees to the secretary of the war history department, who submits the same to Gov. William D. Stephens, by whom formal appointments are made. The county committees are urgently requested by the war history department to collect all records and reports in duplicate, so that one set may be retained in the county archives and the other set forwarded to the war history department for lasting preservation in the State archives.

Specific plans for the publication of the material which is collected are now underway, and the proposal has been made that each county publish its own war history, since much of the material that will be of vital interest to the counties can not be included in the State résumé of the particular county's war activities. It has been suggested, therefore, that a bill be introduced at the next session of the State legislature that will provide for State cooperation with the counties in the publication of their histories to the extent of perhaps one-third the cost of said publication. The majority of counties favor this plan for the county publication and feel that the preservation of the military records and the war activities of the citizens of each county will be, in future years, a matter of tremendous interest to every person in the county.

The procedure of the county committees, after their organization along the lines above mentioned, is much the same as that outlined by the war history committee of the State council of defense. For example, the war history department recommends that each member of the county committee be assigned the task of collecting or supervising the collection of material pertaining to one or more of the following 14 main divisions of the war history as set forth in the "Sug-

gested Outline for a State or County War History," which has just been issued:

1. Period before America's entrance in war.
2. Military, naval, and aviation activities.
3. Agriculture and the food supply.
4. Industry and labor.
5. Commerce, transportation, and communication.
6. War finance and revenue.
7. Social, welfare, and relief agencies and work.
8. Education.
9. Religion in the war.
10. Professional men and women in war work.
11. Women in the war.
12. War legislation and administration of government.
13. Public opinion and the war.
14. Post-war period.

The suggestion has been made that the member so assigned to the one or more particular subjects may wish to associate with himself others who are interested in or have valuable information of the particular phase of the war history, in which event he should be named the chairman of a subcommittee composed of those whom he wishes to call upon for cooperation in his work. The suggestion has been made also by the war history department that subcommittees of the main county committee be organized in each township or other political subdivision.

#### COLORADO.

By C. C. ECKHARDT, Department of History, University of Colorado.

Although Colorado was as remote from the scenes of the World War and suffered as little physically as any region in the country, there was a lively interest in the war long before America entered the great conflict, and once the Nation had determined to do its part in the titanic struggle there were many in the State that felt not merely the need of doing what they could to give the public information as to the causes and meaning of the war, but also to collect and preserve records of Colorado's part in prosecuting the war.

Prof. M. F. Libby, of the department of philosophy of the University of Colorado, wrote a syllabus, "War Points for Americans, a brief statement of our position regarding the war," which was published by the National Security League.

Prof. C. C. Eckhardt, of the history department of the University of Colorado, wrote articles on "The Alsace-Lorraine Question," "The North Slesvig or Dano-German Question," and "The Old Internationalism and the New League of Nations," which appeared in the *Scientific Monthly* for May, 1918, and January and May, 1919.

The various libraries of the State posted lists of books and articles

on the war, and through the extension division and the library of the University of Colorado many hundreds of books and articles were sent to all parts of the State to individuals, clubs, and schools.

Many members of the faculties of Denver University, Colorado College, State Teachers' College, the Colorado Agricultural College, and the University of Colorado gave numerous addresses on the war and its origin. Prof. M. F. Libby, of the University of Colorado, made an extensive tour in the Southern States giving lectures on the war under the auspices of the National Security League.

In 1918 members of the history department of the University of Colorado gave courses on the war: Prof. T. M. Marshall, "The United States and the War"; Dr. Donald McFayden, "The Diplomatic Background of the War"; and Prof. Libby, of the philosophy department of the same institution, gave a course on the war, and after the armistice, a course on "The World Outlook."

The University of Colorado cooperated with the State council of defense in gathering war records, part of the funds for which being supplied by the State council of defense.

The University of Colorado gathered war records of all men and women in the service, records of its own graduates as well as all others. In spite of the persistent efforts of Prof. James F. Willard, head of the history department, and the faithful cooperation of many others throughout the State, this work is by no means complete. In the southern part of the State, when the Mexicans were asked to fill out these war record blanks, they were quite suspicious, and in some cases refused to comply with the request, fearing that they were filling out some kind of registration blank for a new military draft. One school superintendent in a number of cases took the sheriff of the county along to aid in securing the desired information and signature. But even with these heroic measures the records are not complete for that district. Elsewhere our friends report that it is very difficult to get responses from the war veterans or their families. It seems much easier to fight for victory than to fill out blanks that tell about it.

The most extensive and comprehensive undertaking was the collection of newspaper clippings on war activities throughout the State. Over a hundred newspapers from all parts of Colorado were sent gratis to the history department of the State University. Here, under the direction of Prof. James F. Willard, a class read the papers, made clippings, and classified them as to general State activities, activities of the various counties, the subheadings being as follows: Red Cross, food and fuel consumption, war gardens, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A., Liberty loan, Women's Council of Defense, etc. Great quantities of information were thus preserved, but owing to a lack of funds the work could not be complete.



The State historical society collected copies of all draft lists, and these are on file in Denver at the society's headquarters, as are also the complete records of the Four-Minute Men of some parts of the State. The society also sent out questionnaires to men and women in the service, these being distributed through the efforts of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Women's Council of Defense, and the American Legion. The society also sent out civilian questionnaires. The society has been making an energetic drive to secure photographs of the men, war pictures and trophies, letters and diaries, and anything else connected with the war.

The records of the State council of defense and the Women's Council of Defense are preserved with the State historical society. Duplicates of most of these records are also deposited at the University of Colorado.

In many counties vigorous efforts were made to keep a record of the men in the service, El Paso, Gunnison, Boulder, and others really succeeding, while in the remainder of the counties the records are incomplete.

#### GEORGIA.

By LUCIAN LAMAR KNIGHT, State Historian.

The department of archives and history, State of Georgia, was created less than two years ago in the midst of the great World War, and while trying to keep an observant eye on the international horizon the State historian and director of the department was also charged with the responsibility of assembling together in one place all of the scattered archives of the State capitol for permanent preservation, safe custody, and classification.

In conjunction with the State council of defense, which organization has now ceased to exist, the department has compiled a roster of all who have made the supreme sacrifice, whether engaged in service on land or water, or in the air, from the State of Georgia. It has also compiled a complete list of Georgia casualties, including every Georgia soldier, sailor, or marine who was wounded in the service of the United States.

It has been the purpose, only partly carried out, however, to gather together all information concerning the effect of the war on Georgia's social, financial, educational, economic, and religious condition; the State's attitude toward the war; local activities, etc.

No attempt has been made to compile a roster of all the Georgia troops enlisted, because such an effort would only parallel, with poor success, the activities of the United States Government along this line, which, under an act of Congress, will no doubt be thorough and can be secured by the various States on application.

However, the department is trying to secure a complete list of all Georgia boys who, prior to the declaration of war by the United States, enlisted under foreign flags.

#### ILLINOIS.

By WAYNE E. STEVENS, Secretary War History Section, Illinois State Historical Library.

Historical activities in the State of Illinois, which were undertaken as a consequence of the World War, may be conveniently considered from two points of view—(1) as a contribution toward the winning of the war and the arranging of a lasting peace; (2) as a means of preserving for posterity a record of the struggle itself. In many specific instances these two phases of historical activity necessarily coincided, but the distinction is a convenient one and has been observed in the preparation of this survey.

The most valuable contribution of historians to the winning of the war was unquestionably the molding of public opinion through the dissemination of information concerning war aims, both from the lecture platform and through the medium of the press. In Illinois the lead was taken by the colleges and universities, and immediately upon the outbreak of war systematic publicity campaigns were organized. At the University of Illinois a war committee was authorized in December, 1917, the purpose of which was to spread information concerning the war, not only among members of the university, but throughout the State. Divisional committees were appointed as follows: Publication of leaflets and pamphlets, publicity, talks and lectures at the university, and lectures throughout the State. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities a committee on publicity was organized at the University of Chicago, which was later divided into subcommittees on speakers and publications. It need scarcely be said that the members of the departments of history, as well as those of the closely related departments of political science and economics, were active in the work of these committees.

Pamphlets were published, the purpose of which was to set forth clearly, and with a strict regard for accuracy, the issues of the conflict. Two series of pamphlets may be mentioned, the "University of Chicago War Papers"<sup>28</sup> and the "University of Illinois War Leaflets." The first series, for example, included such titles as "The Threat of German World Politics," "Americans and the World Crisis," "Sixteen Causes of War," and "England and America." Many of these pamphlets were published in large editions and distributed widely throughout the State.

<sup>28</sup> See "The University Press and the War," in *University Record*, January, 1919, p. 106.

Illinois educational institutions also rendered an extremely valuable service through organized public speaking. Shortly after the outbreak of war, a speaking campaign was opened at the University of Chicago by a series of lectures on "Why We are at War."<sup>24</sup> At the University of Illinois, a series of lectures on war subjects was given by members of the department of history, which was later supplemented by addresses arranged by the committee on talks and lectures. There were also occasional lectures on historical topics connected with the war by visitors at the University, while faculty members spoke from time to time in various parts of the State. At the same institution there was a committee on extension lectures, which arranged for a series of talks to the soldiers at Camp Grant by members of the departments of history, economics, and political science. Among the subjects of these talks were "The Geographical Background of the War," "The British Empire and What It Stands For," and "Germany and Her Ambitions." Prof. James W. Garner, of the department of political science at the University of Illinois, also delivered a number of lectures before American soldiers in France. Professors of history wrote bulletins for the use of Liberty loan workers, while they themselves often spoke in behalf of the various war drives. They rendered particularly valuable service by contributing articles on war subjects to newspapers, as well as certain of the more popular magazines. The University of Chicago committee on publicity arranged at an early date for the publication of articles in the leading Chicago dailies, while it was arranged that some of this material should be handled by news syndicates. In this connection it should be stated that from April to October, 1918, the work of the Committee on Public Information in Italy was directed by Prof. Charles E. Merriam, of the department of political science of the University of Chicago.

One of the most obvious methods of educating the public with reference to war aims was through the adaptation of courses in the public schools, colleges, and universities, as well as by the organization of new courses. In the very nature of the case, the principal burden of this task fell upon the teachers of history. An enumeration of even a relatively small number of such courses is impossible. There were general courses dealing with the origin and backgrounds of the war while there were others dealing with more specific aspects of the struggle, which were given by specialists in certain phases of European history. The University of Chicago, for example, offered a course on "The Background of the Great War" which is fairly typical. Political, social, and economic conditions among the European

<sup>24</sup> For an account of war lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Chicago, together with lists of lectures and subjects, see *University Record*, January, April, and October, 1918, pp. 54, 105, and 230.

belligerents were considered, while special emphasis was placed upon the traditional attitude of the United States toward European affairs, together with the causes and influences leading up to our participation in the war. Departments of political science offered new courses in diplomacy and foreign relations which were adapted to current war issues and were essentially historical in character. Mention must not be omitted of the war issues course, which was given at various institutions in connection with the Students' Army Training Corps. The extremely large enrollment in this course often taxed to the utmost the resources of the departments of history, and it became necessary to obtain assistance from other departments. At the University of Illinois a committee on the war issues course was established, which became in large measure responsible for the general task of disseminating information concerning the war and related subjects. Prof. Evarts B. Greene, head of the department of history of the University of Illinois, as chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, cooperated with the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department in planning this course.

There were two national war agencies, the function of which was to assist in the formation of an enlightened public opinion—the Committee on Public Information and the National Board for Historical Service. It was also the purpose of the Committee on Public Information to follow closely and keep itself informed concerning the state of public opinion throughout the country. The attitude of the large German-speaking element of the population was of special concern, particularly in the case of a State like Illinois, where there is a relatively large German population. For a period of several months Prof. Laurence M. Larson, of the department of history of the University of Illinois, read some 20 daily and weekly German-American newspapers published in the State, summarizing and reporting upon their contents to the Committee on Public Information. One of the most valuable publications of the Committee on Public Information was the War Cyclopedia, many of the articles in which were contributed by members of the departments of history and political science of the universities of the State. At the request of the committee, Prof. W. S. Robertson, of the department of history of the University of Illinois, who was in South America during a part of the war, made certain investigations concerning Latin America and the war and the relations between Latin American Republics and the United States.

The second agency which assisted in the formation of public opinion was the National Board for Historical Service. Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, was chairman of the board from November, 1917, to September, 1918, and in this capacity cooperated with the Committee on Public Information, the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department, the vari-

ous allied commissions, and organizations of similar character. On behalf of the National Board for Historical Service, Prof. Greene organized certain historical investigations for the use of the House "Inquiry." Prof. William E. Dodd, of the department of history of the University of Chicago, was also a member of the board.

During the war it came to be recognized that it was of the first importance that there should be the most complete accord between the United States and the associated powers. Such an accord could only be based upon a mutual understanding between the nations at war with Germany of their ideals and purposes. The historian, by reason of his cosmopolitan outlook and his familiarity with the ideals and institutions of nations other than his own, was especially qualified to assist in bringing about such an understanding. It was the privilege of Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, head of the department of history of the University of Chicago, to be instrumental in furthering friendly and cordial relations between the United States and Great Britain. Prof. McLaughlin was sent on a mission to England by the National Board for Historical Service, where he lectured extensively in the spring of 1918. The intimate knowledge of conditions in England acquired during his visit abroad enabled him, upon his return to the United States, to inform the public through the medium of lectures and published articles of the ideals for which the two nations had been jointly striving during the war. One tangible result of Prof. McLaughlin's visit was the publication after his return to the United States of a volume entitled "Britain and America," New York and London, 1919.

Because of skill in research and wide knowledge of world affairs, acquired in many instances through years of study, the services of the historian were invaluable in the gathering of data upon the basis of which the peace settlement was formulated. In 1917 Col. Edward M. House instituted his "Inquiry into the terms of peace" and gathered about him a group of experts for the purpose of collecting the necessary information. Prof. Albert Howe Lybyer, of the department of history of the University of Illinois, an authority on the Balkans and Near East, joined the House "Inquiry" in August, 1918. Prof. Laurence M. Larson carried on certain investigations relating to Slesvig, Finland, Spitzbergen, and other problems of Scandinavian interest which were expected to arise at the peace conference.

The American Commission to Negotiate Peace was organized shortly after the armistice and attached thereto were numerous experts, from whose number were selected the American members of the committees, commissions, and councils that were created by the peace conference. Prof. Lybyer, who had already been associated with the House "Inquiry," was also attached to the Commission to

Negotiate Peace, serving as assistant in the Balkan division of experts from December, 1918, to April 1, 1919. On the latter date he became general technical advisor to the King-Crane Commission on Mandates in Turkey, and visited Syria, Palestine, and Constantinople. Prof. Pitman B. Potter, at present of the University of Illinois, prepared for the commission two studies, entitled "Peace Proposals, December 12, 1916, to November 11, 1918," and "Autonomy and Federation within Empire."

After the armistice the University of Illinois began the publication of a series of pamphlets on problems involved in the international settlement, in which work the department of history took the lead.

In the foregoing discussion attention has been directed largely to the services rendered by professional historians and other persons in related departments of academic life. Their work is of unusual interest in a survey of this character because of the special qualifications which they possessed for the work described, by reason of their ability to ascertain facts derived from long practice in research; their ability to interpret facts, acquired through the process of sifting and analyzing historical data; and by reason of the fund of historical information already at their disposal, accumulated through years of study. There were numberless other persons and agencies, in Illinois as elsewhere, which did extremely valuable work along similar lines, but space does not permit a discussion of their activities.

Having considered briefly the service which historical training contributed to the winning of the war, something should be said concerning the agencies in Illinois which have been active in preserving a record of the events of the war and in collecting and preserving the materials which must be used by future historians. First of all will be considered historical studies which have already appeared or the publication of which is planned in the near future; and, secondly, progress made in the collection and preservation of war records in Illinois.

Few general historical studies relating to the State in the war have appeared as yet, owing to the comparatively short period of time which has elapsed since the cessation of hostilities. In Bogart and Mathews, *The Modern Commonwealth, 1893-1918* (Vol. V, Centennial History of Illinois) is a chapter by Prof. Arthur C. Cole, entitled "Illinois and the Great War." Though of necessity very brief, this chapter constitutes by far the best summary of the history of Illinois in the war which has appeared. Several projects for publication are known to be underway. An official history of the State's participation in the war is planned, to consist of several volumes, some of which will be devoted to a narrative of events, while

others will include selected documentary material. The publication of this history may not be expected for some two or three years, but in the meantime the necessary material is being collected. A work entitled "Illinois in the World War," a commercial project which has been undertaken by the State Publication Society, is expected to appear shortly. It will consist for the most part of accounts of various State war activities written by the persons who directed them. Thus it will in reality constitute a source, or a collection of sources, rather than a real history in the form of a connected narrative.

Certain studies of the war in its more general aspects have been made from time to time by Illinois writers. A volume by Prof. William E. Dood, entitled "Woodrow Wilson and His Work," has been published by Doubleday, Page & Co. Prof. James W. Garner has written a treatise on "International Law and the World War" in two volumes, which at the time of writing this article was in the press of Longmans, Green & Co. This study, while it belongs properly within the field of political science, will necessarily contain a large amount of historical material. The same may be said of Prof. John A. Fairlie's "British War Administration," which has appeared as a volume of the Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Several military histories have been published, relating to units made up in whole or for the most part of Illinois troops. There is now being edited for the press a history of the Thirty-third Division, by Col. Frederic L. Huidekoper, division adjutant. Besides a narrative account of the organization of the division, which was composed of Illinois National Guard troops and its operations in France, there will be a volume of appendixes containing official orders, memoranda, and other documentary material. There will also be a volume of official operation maps. This history, which is being published at the expense of the State, is a scholarly work in every sense of the term, and will not only be of interest to the general reader, but of value to the student of military science. An account of one of the units of the Thirty-Third Division has already been published in a work entitled "The 131st U. S. Infantry (1st Inf., Ill. N. G.) in the World War." The general narrative is by Col. Joseph B. Sanborn, commanding the regiment, while the conduct of operations is described by Capt. George N. Malstrom. A splendid pictorial record of the Thirty-third Division is contained in a volume entitled "Thirty-third Division Across No-Man's Land," Kankakee, 1919. A history of the Eighty-sixth Division, which was formed at Camp Grant and contained a large number of Illinois men, has been compiled by members of the Eighty-sixth Division Association and is now in the press of the State Publication

Society. A very comprehensive and semiofficial narrative is contained in the volume entitled "Great Lakes Naval Training Station, A History," by Francis Buzzell, Boston, 1919. The author was historian of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh naval districts.

Of great interest, though of rather unequal value, are the "official" histories and final reports of the various war activities carried on within the State. Noteworthy among these publications is the "Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois." Besides giving a general description of the work of the council, the report summarizes the activities and achievements of the various subcommittees, while there is an appendix which contains a large amount of exceedingly useful material in the form of texts of statutes, resolutions, reports, etc. Supplementing this report is the "Final Report of the Woman's Committee of the State Council of Defense of Illinois and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Illinois Division," a volume of 316 pages. "The Web," by Emerson Hough, of Chicago, is the story of the American Protective League. Besides a general description of the origin and work of the league, the volume includes a more detailed account of its activities in the larger cities, including Chicago. Mr. George R. Jones, State chairman of the Four-Minute Men, has published a useful little volume entitled "History of the Four-Minute Men of Chicago." Many of the welfare organizations are planning to preserve a record of their activities in permanent form.

A history of the war activities of the Young Men's Christian Association throughout the central department, which includes Illinois, is being compiled under the auspices of the National War Work Council.

The military edition of the *Columbian and Western Catholic*, October 17, 1919, contains a series of articles describing with considerable fullness the work of the Knights of Columbus in Illinois. The various establishments of the War Camp Community Service in Illinois have compiled separate reports describing their work. Of special interest are the reports covering the work of the organization in Chicago and Rockford.

No official history of the Red Cross in Illinois has been prepared, nor has any general report of its work been compiled covering the central division, of which Illinois is a part. At the request of the director of the central division, however, nearly all of the county chapters have prepared brief histories of their war activities. These histories, as a rule, vary in length from 1,000 to 5,000 words, and a few have been published.

A number of educational institutions have undertaken to preserve a record of their war service. Schools, colleges, and universities have included much data of this sort in their catalogues, bulletins, annuals,



alumni publications, etc. At Northwestern University a history of the various war activities connected with the institution is in manuscript and will soon be ready for the press. The University of Illinois has designated a committee, including two members of the department of history, to undertake the preparation of a record of the university in the war. The collection of material has been going forward for several weeks, and the committee is formulating plans for publication. A similar committee has been appointed at the University of Chicago. The University Record, October, 1917-January, 1919, inclusive, contains a series of articles edited by Dr. David A. Robertson, which constitute a very good general summary of the war service of the institution. At the Western Illinois State Normal School a manuscript is ready for the press which includes the names of students and alumni of the institution who were in uniform, together with a brief record of each man's service. The projected volume will also include a summary of the contributions of the school to civilian war activities.

The libraries of the State rendered inestimable service by acting as distributing centers for information of all sorts relating to the war. Mr. P. L. Windsor, of the University of Illinois library, has undertaken a State-wide survey of this phase of the work of the libraries, the result of which it is hoped to publish at some future date.

The county war history is a popular form of expression of interest in local war achievements, and in a large number of the 102 counties of Illinois such projects are underway. In many instances these histories are in the nature of commercial enterprises, while in other counties the work has been undertaken by public-spirited citizens of the locality with no idea of personal profit. The commercial publication as a general rule is characterized by expensive printing and ornate binding, though the content is usually less valuable than in the case of the second class of county histories mentioned above. Most of these "histories" conform pretty closely to a standard type. They include the names and sometimes fairly complete service records of persons who were in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. There is usually a brief sketch of each of the various civilian war agencies within the county. In these sketches the names of personnel and statistics of work accomplished, funds raised, etc., usually predominate.

The preservation of the original records relating to Illinois in the war is perhaps of more immediate importance than the writing of history, for it is upon material of this sort that the future historian must depend. The war records section of the Illinois State Historical Library is the agency which is organizing the work throughout the State. A war history committee was appointed under the State council of defense and a movement initiated looking to the

preservation by the various counties of the State of original war records. The organization of the State council of defense was disbanded soon after the armistice, however, the result being that very little was accomplished. In July, 1919, the general assembly appropriated the sum of \$20,000 for the following biennium, to be used by the Illinois State Historical Library for the purpose of collecting and preserving data relating to the State in the war. A war records section was organized, responsible to the library board of trustees, a secretary was appointed, and the gathering of material was commenced.

The work of the war records section consists of two separate, though closely related, phases (1) the gathering and preserving of material relating to the State as a whole, and (2) the organization of local war history committees, the duty of which is to perform a similar service for the counties in which they are located. General records and data pertaining to the participation of Illinois in the war are being assembled at Springfield, where they will constitute a permanent war records collection, which will be housed ultimately in the Centennial Building now being erected adjacent to the State capitol. A detailed description of this material will be unnecessary as it resembles very closely that which is being gathered in other States. Particular emphasis is being placed upon original records, in the form of correspondence, minutes of proceedings, memoranda, reports, etc., of State war activities. The headquarters of these State agencies have been carefully canvassed, and in some instances the war records section has been made the depository of a part or all of their working files covering the period of the war. Copies of county Red Cross chapter histories are being obtained for the war records collection while reports from local food and fuel administrators, as well as the chairmen of other county war activities, are being gathered. Ephemeral material in the form of pamphlets, circulars, bulletins, and publicity matter of all sorts is being collected. The section also has a growing collection of posters and photographs. A survey of Illinois manufactures during the war has been undertaken. A memorandum has been sent to several hundred concerns in the State, requesting data concerning their commercial and industrial problems during the war, and a large number of valuable reports have been received. The collection of soldiers' letters and diaries will also be emphasized.

Immediately upon its establishment the war records section began the task of organizing the various counties of the State to insure the preservation of local material. War records committees were organized in certain counties, while elsewhere other agencies, already in existence, were persuaded to undertake the task. In this connection the libraries of the State, particularly those located at the various

county seats, have been very useful. The sort of material which the counties are being asked to collect is similar in character to that which is being gathered by the State, save for its more local interest and value. Special effort is being made to insure the preservation of the records of local committees which comprised the community war administrative machinery. In some counties the material gathered is being placed in the courthouse, while in others it is being placed in the library at the county seat for safe keeping. Some county committees have published war histories, while others are planning to do so. As has been stated it is planned ultimately to publish an official history of Illinois in the war; and in the collection of material, both State and local, this end is being kept constantly in view.

The libraries of the State, acting independently, and upon their own initiative, have done extremely valuable work in the collection of general material relating to the war. This is especially true of the libraries of our educational institutions, which in planning their collections have kept in mind the needs of future research students. In many instances their activities have extended to the gathering of European material, as well as that pertaining to the United States. The *University Record*, October, 1918, page 237, contains a good description of the activity of the University of Chicago library in collecting historical material.

#### INDIANA.

By JOHN W. OLIVER, Director War History Records, Indiana Historical Commission.

One of the first steps taken in Indiana to acquaint the people at large with the many issues involved in the World War was the publication of a war-service Textbook. Immediately following the organization of the State council of defense in May, 1917, the members realized the need of carrying home to every family in Indiana a thorough understanding of the causes of the war and the great issues at stake. The best medium through which this information could be diffused was a textbook—one that could be read and understood by school children as well as adults. Acting upon the suggestion of the State council of defense, Gov. James P. Goodrich authorized the publication of such a volume. The State board of education was requested to edit and publish the volume, and in January, 1918, it was ready for distribution.

The volume, numbering 151 pages, contains two of President Wilson's messages—the one read to Congress on April 2, 1917, and the message read at the opening of Congress, December 3, 1917;

addresses by Gov. James P. Goodrich, and Ex-Gov. Samuel M. Ralston; a discussion of State councils of defense by George Ade; an article on the meaning of war by Louis Howland; and several other articles devoted to some phase of the World War. Numerous war poems are also included in the volume. Several thousand copies of this volume were distributed throughout the State, and it became a great factor in bringing home to the people the real meaning of war.

In an effort to enlighten the public regarding the many issues of the war, a great work was done both by individuals and by organizations. A pamphlet entitled "The Soul of the German Empire," published in 1915 by William M. Cochran, Indianapolis, was one of the first to appear calling attention to the character of the nation that was later to become our enemy. Two other pamphlets written by an Indiana man, that were circulated throughout the country before the United States entered the war, were "Germans in America" and "America's Debt to England," by Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis, 1916. This latter paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Cincinnati, 1916. The Quarterly Bulletin, issued by the Indiana State Library, June, 1917 (vol. XII, No. 2), was devoted entirely to a bibliography on war publications. A selected list of books dealing with war finance, military science, education and the war, universal military service, relief work in the war, food supply, women and the war, and other kindred subjects, was distributed throughout the State in the summer of 1917. "War Readings, a bibliographical reference to war items from current literature, 1917," by Katherine Merrill Graydon, professor of English in Butler College, Indianapolis, furnished a most valuable guide for the war material in magazines and periodicals.

The schools, colleges, and universities of Indiana carried on a systematic war-educational campaign by means of lectures, war courses, and assigned readings in order to reach the thousands of students enrolled in these institutions. Indiana University led the way by offering a special course on the World War and its causes during the summer school for 1917. The course was also offered during the regular sessions of 1917-18, and again during the summer term of 1918. In the fall term of 1918, a course on war aims was offered for the students enrolled in the Students' Army Training Corps. Several articles relating to the war were written by different members of the faculty, and were printed in each issue of the Alumni Quarterly. The chief contributors were Profs. James A. Woodburn, Samuel B. Harding, A. L. Kohlmeier, and James C. McDonald.

At Depauw University, Greencastle, a special series of lectures relating to the World War was provided for by the Mendenhall

Foundation. Dr. John R. Mott gave six lectures; Dr. John Kelman, of Edinburgh, Scotland, gave several; and President W. H. P. Faunce, of Brown University, gave several addresses on the war. All of these have since been published by the Abingdon Press, of New York City. In addition to this special series of lectures a course on the causes of the war and the "war aims course" were given by the department of history. Prof. W. W. Sweet, head of the history department, published a series of brief articles relating to the war in the Indianapolis News.

Special courses relating to the World War were also given by Purdue University; University of Notre Dame; the two Indiana State Normal Schools, Terre Haute and Muncie; Butler College, Indianapolis; Earlham College, Richmond; Wabash College, Crawfordsville; Hanover College, Hanover; Tri-State College, Angola; Franklin College, Franklin; Vincennes University, Vincennes; Central Normal College, Danville; and Indiana Central University, Indianapolis. In addition to the special courses on the war, given in each case by the department of history, the faculty members in each institution gave a series of lectures during the convocation periods, and on other special occasions. Several articles relating to war subjects were contributed by the faculty members to the local school papers and magazines. In each of the institutions mentioned the libraries arranged a special collection of ready reference books, pamphlets, and periodicals, containing war material, which the students were urged to read. Several of the college libraries circulated their collection of war material and assisted local clubs and societies in making a study of the war.

The most important contribution made by the historical profession in Indiana during the session of the Peace Conference was a series of articles on the League of Nations, prepared by Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, and published in the Indianapolis Star during the month of April, 1919.

Special mention should also be made of the war services rendered by another Indiana historian, Prof. F. S. Bogardus, of the Terre Haute Normal School. He was one of the first men called into service by the War Department, early in 1918, to formulate the war issues course used by all colleges and universities that enrolled men for vocational and technical training. The same course was later used by the Students' Army Training Corps institutions. Prof. Bogardus had charge of the central district, covering 13 States in all, extending from West Virginia to Colorado.

During the progress of the war no steps were taken on the part of the State looking toward the publication of any special histories on war organizations or particular units.

With respect to the collection and preservation of war records, the Indiana State Library took the lead in April, 1917, in urging upon all local libraries and historical societies the importance of selecting and preserving all material relating to the war activities in Indiana. Special attention was called to the value of preserving complete files of all local newspapers. Early in 1918 a bulletin was issued by the Indiana State Library calling upon the different counties to take steps toward building up a collection of local war records. A few months later a second bulletin, issued jointly by the State library and State council of defense, was sent to all county councils of defense, urging them to prepare a final report covering the work of their organizations.

Immediately following the signing of the armistice, Gov. Goodrich called together the members of the Indiana Historical Commission and suggested that this organization take steps at once to collect and compile the official war history of the State. The expenses incurred for the work were paid out of the governor's emergency contingent fund until the legislature convened, when an appropriation of \$20,000 was voted for this special work. The historical commission opened headquarters in the statehouse, and proceeded at once to organize local war-history committees in each county in the State. Two bulletins were issued setting forth an outline of the work that was to be covered in building up a State war-history collection.

The counties were urged to make their own local collections of records complete in every detail, and to include a report covering every organization that had helped toward the winning of the war. Also the counties have been urged to prepare their histories for publication at the earliest possible date. At this writing (Apr. 1, 1920) eight counties have published their war histories, and more than half of the counties in the State have their material assembled.

The scope of the work carried on by the historical commission covers every organization in the State that engaged in war work. Reports of the State council of defense, the history of the five Liberty loan drives, the fuel and food administrations, the numerous war-relief organizations, and all other phases of war work are to be included in the collection of war records.

Three of the five volumes which the historical commission expects to publish are now under way, and it is expected that they will be in the press within the next few months. The first of these will be the gold star memorial volume. It will include the name and a brief biographical sketch of every man in Indiana who lost his life in the World War; also the pictures of as many men as can be obtained will be included in this volume. The second volume will be given over to the history of the State council of defense and the activities of the State conscription board. The third volume will con-

tain the history of the five Liberty loan drives and the war savings and war thrift stamp campaigns. Further publications will have to be deferred until an additional appropriation is made.

#### IOWA.

This report was prepared under the auspices of the State Historical Society.

Historical activities in the State of Iowa during the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, undertaken in consequence of the World War, were largely confined to the schools, including the higher State and private educational institutions, and to certain State institutions which were particularly interested in the dissemination of historical knowledge regarding the war or in the preservation of historical materials.

Along the lines of historical research and publication of war material, the State University of Iowa issued in January, 1919, a Syllabus on the Issues of the War, prepared by the collaboration of members of the university staff in connection with the war issues course for the Students' Army Training Corps. Through its extension division the university also issued various bulletins bearing upon historical aspects of the war. Among these may be named one on "German Submarine Warfare Against the United States, 1915-1917," by Louis Pelzer, and one on the "Monroe Doctrine and the War," by Harry G. Plum. Bulletin No. 40 published in August, 1918, is a bibliography of war materials prepared for use by the Iowa Patriotic League in the high schools of Iowa. It is supplemented by Bulletin No. 48, which brings the bibliography down to May, 1919.

The State Historical Society of Iowa during the period 1917-1919 issued 24 numbers in a series of booklets entitled "Iowa and War." Although many of these numbers dealt with earlier wars in which Iowa had a part, the following titles will indicate the scope of the material relating to the World War: "Iowa War Proclamation," "An Iowa Flag," "The First Three Liberty Loans in Iowa," "Social Work at Fort Dodge," "Organized Speaking in Iowa During the War," "The History of Iowa's Part in the World War," "A Tentative Outline for a County War History," "A Tentative Outline for a State War History," "The Writing of War History in Iowa."

The State Historical Society also published in 1919 a bulletin of information entitled "Collection and Preservation of the Materials of War History—A Patriotic Service for Public Libraries, Local Historical Societies, and Local Historians."

The diffusion of historical information through newspapers and periodicals was considerable in amount, though not the result of a great deal of organized effort from within the State. The news-

papers drew much material from the publications of the National Committee on Public Information. A reversal of this service is typified in the contribution to the Historical Outlook (a publication of nation-wide circulation) of an historical outline under the title "United States and the World War" by Harry G. Plum, of the State University of Iowa.

The libraries of the State made every effort possible to secure and make accessible to the public books and periodicals containing important historical information. Lectures concerning the issues of the war were provided by the higher educational institutions, the public schools, and by numerous other agencies. With the cooperation of the State council of defense, a bureau of speakers for Iowa was organized, which coordinated the public speaking in the State, particularly in connection with the campaigns for funds for welfare organizations, for Liberty loans and for other war purposes. The diffusion of historical information through this agency was very considerable.

In the schools and colleges teachers naturally emphasized the historical phases of the World War. In most of the colleges courses on the issues of the war were given and had large enrollments. A valuable adjunct to the teaching of history in the high schools was the work of the extension division of the State University of Iowa, in organizing in August, 1918, the Iowa Patriotic League, which enrolled high schools and high-school students in the study of the great problems of the day, especially those problems brought out by the war and reconstruction.

Cooperation with the State council of defense was close in all efforts which had historical connections; as, for example, the organization of the bureau of speakers and the Iowa Patriotic League, and in the diffusion of war information through the printed word. Cooperation with the National Board for Historical Service and with the National Government in the prosecution of the war and in the negotiation of peace was of a general nature only.

During the progress of the war the State Historical Society of Iowa drew up and published in the Iowa and War Series tentative outline plans for the writing of histories of the various war activities of the State. In accordance with these plans the society began the preparation of volumes on the Food Administration in Iowa, The Red Cross in Iowa, Welfare Campaigns in Iowa, and other similar subjects. A short sketch of "The Fuel Problems in Iowa during the World War" has been published by the fuel administrator for the State, Mr. Charles Webster.

The collection and preservation of war records has been carried on in the counties through the county historical societies, public libraries, and other agencies, and for the State at large by three



principal organizations. The general assembly of Iowa provided for the organization of an Iowa war roster commission and granted an appropriation of \$20,000 for the preparation and publication of a roster of Iowa soldiers, sailors, and marines in the recent Mexican border service and in the World War. The active part of this commission is the adjutant general of the State, for whose office Col. Frank E. Lyman, cooperating with the War Department, is now engaged in the compilation of the war records of Iowa men.

The historical department at Des Moines has been, during and since the war, actively engaged in gathering information, through questionnaires and other means, concerning Iowa soldiers. A large body of material has been secured and placed upon cards and a considerable collection of photographs of soldiers has been made. A special effort has been made to secure data in regard to casualties among troops from the various Iowa counties.

A somewhat different system of collection has been adopted by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Although efforts have not been neglected to collect material of a general nature and along all lines of war activities, the collection along individual lines has been pushed. For example, assignments of special topics for research and writing have been made in various fields, and the individual who is to write upon a given subject is given the task, and afforded every aid possible therein, of collecting the material bearing upon his subject. The material thus gathered, though not covering so wide a field, is more intelligently selected and lends itself immediately for publication purposes. A considerable body of war material has been collected in this way for use and for preservation.

The preparation of histories of Iowa's part in the war has already made considerable headway, although as yet comparatively little has been published. In a number of the counties of the State "honor rolls" have been published. These are, for the most part, collections of photographs of men in the service from the county, together with a brief statement of each man's service record. These is usually little or no other content, the purpose of the publication being commercial rather than historical. A few publications are appearing in which reading matter predominates, and it is expected that the number will steadily increase. In many counties histories of a more promising character are being prepared. A county historical society has been organized in one county with this purpose in view, and it is hoped that the existing county historical societies will take an active part in seeing that the history of the part taken by the county is written with regard to future historical value rather than present financial value. A history of the Eighty-eighth Division, recently published, is typical of the attempt to record the history of combat organizations recruited in whole or in part from the State.

The roster which is being compiled by the Iowa war roster commission will be accompanied with a certain amount of historical matter of a general nature, and will constitute a most valuable addition to the war history of the State.

The most comprehensive plan for the writing of Iowa's part in the World War is that of the State Historical Society of Iowa. In a series entitled "Iowa Chronicles of the World War" the society is planning to issue volumes covering all phases of the war activities of the State both at home and overseas. These volumes will be assigned to historically trained men and will be the result of careful research. One volume is already completed and several others are nearing completion.

#### KANSAS.

This report was prepared from a letter by F. H. HODDER, Department of History and Political Science, University of Kansas.

The history men of the University of Kansas were sufficiently active during the war. Mr. Hodder organized 50 sections of the war aims course, taught two of them, and lectured at Camp Funston. Mr. Patterson was one of a committee of three that administered all the educational work of the Students' Army Training Corps. He also taught two sections of the war aims course. Mr. Moore was in Washington working, first for the War Trade Board and later in the Department of State. Mr. Melvin gave all the lectures for seven sections of the vocational group. Mr. Davis was engaged in Red Cross work on the firing line in France. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Chubb did double duty in teaching. The instructors in other educational institutions were, in all probability, equally active.

#### KENTUCKY.

By FRED P. CALDWELL, State Historian for Kentucky Council of Defense.

There was not, during the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, nor is there at this time a Historical Commission in Kentucky. The only war history work that has been done is that which is being done under the direction and supervision of the Kentucky Council of Defense. That body was created by the Kentucky Legislature in March, 1918. While the purpose of the council was "to assist the State and Federal Governments during the continuance of war," it was felt that this statement of the purposes of the council was broad enough to include the diffusion of historical information, and the gathering and preserving of historical material.

From the date of its creation the Kentucky Council of Defense cooperated with the Council of National Defense and the Committee on Public Information in the diffusion of historical information

necessary to an enlightened public opinion regarding the issues of the war, this being done by procuring the publication in newspapers and periodicals of articles furnished for that purpose, and also by promoting the circulation of books and periodicals containing important historical matter. Books and pamphlets furnished by the Committee on Public Information were widely distributed for the use of speakers. Many speakers of national and international fame were brought to the State by the State council of defense with the cooperation of the Council of National Defense and the Committee on Public Information, Sir Frederick E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead), then attorney general of Great Britain and now lord chancellor, being among the number. The week of September 25 to 30 was set apart by the publicity committee of the State council of defense as patriotic week, and during that period 898 different patriotic meetings were held in the State under the direction of Dr. H. H. Cherry, chairman of that committee, the total number of meetings held under the direction of that committee during the war being more than 3,000. Prizes were awarded in the schools and colleges for essays and speeches on patriotic subjects, and in other ways the young people of the State were enlightened as to the issues of the war. The Kentucky Council of Defense, the food administration, the fuel administration, the American Red Cross, and other war agencies cooperated with the Federal Government in many and varied ways in the prosecution of the war.

Realizing that much valuable material relating to the part which Kentucky was playing in the war would be lost unless promptly collected and preserved, the State council, in September, 1918, took active steps to collect and preserve historical records. It appointed a "State historian," and caused local historians to be appointed in each of the 120 counties in the State. The county historians in turn appointed assistants in the various parts of their counties, and thus the work was begun.

The historical work not having been finished on March 15, 1920, when the State council of defense passed out of existence, the Kentucky Legislature continued it in existence as the Kentucky Council of Defense for two years longer—that is, until March 15, 1922—for the sole purpose of completing and preserving Kentucky's war history.

When the work was first taken up by the council there were few precedents to guide it. It was necessary to formulate a plan of its own, and to prepare forms and blanks. It was determined that two main branches of work would be done—first, to collect in the central office records of State-wide interest, and, second, to collect in each county records of special interest to the people of the county.

First, as to the county records. The plan adopted for the county records called for three separate lines of work; first, making individual records on "war record sheets" of all soldiers, sailors, marines, chaplains, nurses, aviators, and others from Kentucky who were in the service during the war; second, making records of the work done by the county councils of defense, Red Cross, Liberty loan committees, war savings stamps committees, Y. M. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, women's clubs, War Camp Community Service, Salvation Army, Boy Scouts, Boys' Working Reserve, food and fuel administrators, War Mothers, Four-Minute Men, churches, schools, and all other organizations which did war work; third, collecting and preserving other war data and records of historical interest.

In June, 1919, the council of defense conducted a State-wide "historical drive," the purpose of which was to arouse public interest in the collection and preservation of historical material. In this drive the newspapers of the State were of great help. They published for several weeks lists of the men who died or were wounded in the service, citations of men who had won special honors, sketches of Kentucky's ranking officers, reports of work done by local organizations, and articles prepared by the local historians relating to the county's war history.

In several counties the local historians prepared the material for, and the papers printed, "historical" and "memorial" editions. In this way a great deal of material of permanent historical value was preserved. These special editions contained fairly complete records of the part which the various counties played in the war, both through their armed forces and their civilian war workers. Some of the papers published photographs of the men who had given their lives, and photographs of the principal civilian workers. The historical drive was an unqualified success, and through the publicity which it created the local historians were able to collect a great deal of valuable material.

By the use of "war-record blanks," which were sent to each county, it was proposed to secure the following information as to each person in the service: Name, rank, address, nearest relative, date and place of entrance into the service, branch in which he served, promotions, casualties, date of discharge, etc. While many of the counties have had war-record blanks filled for practically all of the men in the service, there are still many counties in which only a small number of blanks have been filled, and some in which no records of any kind have been made. To remedy this condition it is the purpose of the council, during the next two years, to send to each county a copy of the "statement of service" of each soldier and sailor from that county. This can be done by copying the

"statements of service" when they are sent to the adjutant general of Kentucky by the adjutant general of the United States.

When the county records are completed they should contain statements of service of all soldiers and sailors who lived in that county, reports of war work of civilian organizations, records of the men who died or were wounded, copies of the citations of the men who won special honors, photographs, addresses, and newspaper and other articles of historical value. The records will be bound in permanent form and placed in the archives of the county.

It will thus be seen that the main purpose of the council is to help each county make for itself a permanent record of its war activities. It is believed that such records, using each county as a unit, will be of far greater value than would be the gathering of a great mass of material at one central depository. No plans have been made as yet for the publication of any material. No doubt many of the counties will at some time in the future publish their county war histories.

Most of the material to be collected and preserved in the central office of the council will be records of State-wide interest. Some records collected and to be collected include the following: Records of Kentuckians who lost their lives in the service; records of the wounded; list of Kentuckians who won special honors, with copies of official citations and newspaper clippings with reference to such honors; reports of State-wide work of Kentucky Council of Defense, Liberty loan campaigns, war savings stamp campaigns, food and fuel administrators, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, women's clubs, schools, churches, Four-Minute Men, selective service department, and other war work agencies; histories of overseas divisions in which Kentucky men served; naval activities; transport service; rosters of Kentucky men in each division; rosters of Kentucky men at officers' training camps; Students' Army Training Corps; roster of Kentucky National Guard; histories of Camp Taylor, Camp Knox, and Fort Thomas; statements of services of Kentucky physicians, nurses, chaplains, and Army welfare workers in the war zone.

From this statement it will be seen that it is proposed to make the war history of each county in the State complete in itself, and collect at the central office war literature and records of State-wide interest.

#### LOUISIANA.

By M. J. WHITE, Department of History, The Tulane University of Louisiana.

Louisiana has not been particularly active in the collection and publication of war history material, but from present indications

the legislature, which assembles at Baton Rouge this month (May, 1920), will make an appropriation for the purpose.

The State council for defense undertook an important work when it made arrangements for compiling a record of every soldier, sailor, marine, volunteer, and member of the National Guard of the State who was in Federal service. A war record director has been appointed for each of the 64 parishes, a house-to-house canvass undertaken for the purpose of securing the necessary data, and the records are to be preserved in leather-bound volumes. A copy of the record for each parish is to be placed on file at the parish courthouse, and a complete record for Louisiana will be kept in the State files at the capitol.

Since the first of the year two pamphlets dealing with war activities in Louisiana have been published. "Louisiana in the War," by Herman J. Seiferth, published and sold by the Times-Picayune, of New Orleans, consists in the main of short reports by chairmen or members of the various committees and boards that made up the State war organization. Isoline Rodd Kendall (Mrs. John S. Kendall) has written "A Brief History of Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, New Orleans Division."

In the public parks of New Orleans and in many of the cities and towns of Louisiana memorial groves of live-oak trees have been set out; memorial tablets have been placed in public buildings all over the State; libraries have collected war books and pamphlets and war posters; and the Louisiana State Museum, at New Orleans, has brought together a considerable collection of valuable war relics.

At the present time \$300,000 is being raised by public subscription, portions of this sum being allotted to each of the parishes, for a State memorial, to be placed upon the grounds of the State university at Baton Rouge, in memory of Louisianians who lost their lives in the war.

Prof. William Woodward, of the Newcomb School of Art, Tulane University, has, upon his own initiative, and at his own expense, painted the portraits of several Louisiana men and women who served their country in Europe. He has hopes that his pictures may become the nucleus of a State collection to record the late war.

#### MAINE.

By ORREN C. HORMELL, Department of History, Bowdoin College.

The historically trained men and women of Maine at the outbreak of the war were among the first to devote themselves to the prosecution of the war either in the active military service or in those lines of domestic service for which their training had best prepared them. Those in the historical profession in Maine who were so unfortunate

as to be excluded from active military or naval service contributed in no small measure toward making the prosecution of the war successful. Members of the department of history and government in all four Maine colleges (Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, and the University of Maine) gave public lectures upon historical and political subjects which would aid the citizen to understand the issues of the war and win their undivided support for a vigorous prosecution of the war. During the life of the Students' Army Training Corps the departments of history and government of the four Maine colleges were turned over almost entirely to the teaching of war subjects. At Bates College the war issues course was given by Prof. R. R. N. Gould; at Bowdoin, Prof. O. C. Hormell was the director of the course and Prof. Daniel Stanwood of the department gave some of the lectures. At Colby, Prof. William Black had charge of the course; while at the University of Maine Prof. Caroline Colvin and Asst. Prof. Albert A. Whitmore shared in the conducting of the course.

Prof. O. C. Hormell, of Bowdoin, and Prof. Stewart Macdonald, of Colby, gave a course in military law in their respective colleges.

From March until June of 1919 Prof. O. C. Hormell, of Bowdoin, as a member of the Army Education Corps of the American Expeditionary Forces taught civics at the American University at Beaune, Côte d'Or, France, and lectured on political subjects at several American Expeditionary Forces posts in France.

The most noteworthy work done in consequence of their historical training, by historically trained men in Maine, during the war, was by Prof. (Capt.) Herbert C. Bell and Prof. (Capt.) Thomas Van Cleve, of the department of history at Bowdoin College. When it was discovered by general headquarters in December, 1917, that Capt. Bell was a trained historian, he was assigned the task of submitting daily, to the commander in chief, confidential reports on the political developments in the various belligerent countries. Soon afterwards he was made editor of the Press Review. In May, 1918, Capt. Bell was detailed to write the confidential cables which were sent regularly twice a day by the commander in chief to the Secretary of War. After the armistice he was sent to London to investigate all known schemes for a league of nations, and to prepare copies for Gen. Bliss of the Peace Commission. During December (1918), and January (1919), he submitted three reports—(a) a collection of schemes, (b) a critical abstract of the schemes presented, and (c) a proposed constitution for the league based upon the abstract. In this work he was ably assisted by Lieut. Lawrence Crosby (Bangor, Me.), who had received his historical and legal training at Bowdoin and Oxford.

Prof. (Capt.) Van Cleve, September, 1918, was made a member of a special department maintained at general headquarters for studying the political conditions in the allied and enemy countries. He was put in charge of the "enemy sections" and prepared several articles each week on Germany and Austria-Hungary. The articles, especially after the armistice, dealt with such questions as German morale, activities of the political parties, revolutionary movements, the financial and economic situation, workingmen's and soldiers' councils, the new German constitution, etc. The articles prepared by Prof. Van Cleve appeared in the "Press Review, Second Section, General Staff, General Headquarters, American Expeditionary Force."

State and local war materials were quite generally preserved throughout the State. Through the offices of the adjutant general, State librarian, and committee of public safety, records have been kept of the various war activities within the State, much of which will be published by the State in due time. Much data concerning the local participation in the war have been preserved by the Maine Historical Society Library, Evelyn L. Gilmore, librarian; Bangor Public Library, Charles A. Flagg (now deceased), librarian; Portland Public Library, Alice C. Furbish, librarian; and by the libraries of the four Maine colleges.

Rev. Edwin Carey Whittemore, a trained historian, of Waterville, collected data on, and is now preparing a history of, the war records of Waterville and Winslow.

#### MARYLAND.

By KARL SINGEWALD, Maryland War Records Commission.

*Patriotic Education.*—The work of patriotic education was carried on actively and effectively in Maryland, especially by the educational committees of the Maryland Council of Defense and of the women's section, and by the four-minute men. The committees cooperated with the Government to the fullest extent in distributing the literature issued by the Committee on Public Information and other Government agencies, and conducted public meetings continually throughout the State.

Dr. John H. Latane, professor of American history, and Dr. A. O. Lovejoy, professor of philosophy, of Johns Hopkins University, were notably active in patriotic speaking and in directing the educational campaign. Dr. Lovejoy prepared a pamphlet, "What are we fighting about?" which was printed by the Maryland Council of Defense. This pamphlet went through five editions, and attained a considerable circulation even outside of the State of Maryland.



The history department of Goucher College devoted its efforts largely along war lines. A series of eight public lectures upon the Origin of the Great War was delivered by Asst. Prof. Katharine J. Gallagher. The department cooperated with the National Board of Historical Research in furnishing bibliographies upon special issues of the war. Asst. Prof. Mary W. Williams prepared a bibliography of the war for the History Teachers' Magazine in 1918. Dr. Ella Lonn prepared a syllabus for general courses on patriotic education. This syllabus was published as "What Uncle Sam and Maryland do for you," under the auspices of the Americanization committee of the women's civic league of Baltimore. All members of the department were active in patriotic speaking and instruction.

Mention should be made also of the book, *America's Case Against Germany*, by a Marylander, Dr. Lindsay Rogers, adjunct professor of political science, University of Virginia, an excellent study of the events leading up to our entrance into the war in the light of international law.

*War records.*—The State of Maryland has made adequate provision for compiling its war records in a very comprehensive and thorough way. The Maryland Council of Defense, after the armistice, created a historical division for this important undertaking. The legislature, at its recent session, passed an act creating a war records commission of five members to take up and carry on the work of the historical division.

The undertaking of the historical division includes: (1) records of all Marylanders who served in the military and naval forces of the United States or of the Allies in the war, and letters, diaries, etc.; (2) records of military units composed largely of Marylanders; (3) records of military establishments in Maryland during the war; (4) records of Marylanders who rendered noteworthy service in relation to the war in a civilian capacity, in Government positions, in welfare or relief work, in finance or industry, etc.; (5) records of nonmilitary war agencies and activities, in Maryland; (6) records of Maryland war industries; (7) war exhibits—photographs, posters, publications, etc.

Historical committees were organized in the counties of the State. These committees are serving gratuitously, and in many of the counties are doing excellent work. Altogether the compilation of the historical records is progressing very satisfactorily.

The report of the Maryland Council of Defense to the Governor and General Assembly of Maryland, a printed volume of 330 pages, covers fully the history of the council and of the many war activities conducted with its support. The appendix is an important collection of documentary material—laws, reports, and other papers.

## APPENDIX.

## PROGRAM FOR WAR RECORDS.

1. *Military Records (individual).*—Over 60,000 Marylanders were in the service. The commission is endeavoring to obtain the war service record of every such Marylander, on a form prepared for this purpose. It is meant to include Army, Navy and Marine Corps, and also services transferred to the military forces during the war—Public Health Service, Coast Guard, Light-house Service and Coast and Geodetic Survey personnel, etc. It is desired also to include those who served in the forces of the Allies, whether before or after the entrance of the United States into the war.

In addition to the formal war service records, the commission urgently requests photographs, copies of citations and commendations, clippings, letters, narratives, diaries, etc. Such material is of very great interest and value for the historical collection.

Marylanders include not only those who entered the service from Maryland, but also those who formerly lived here. Whenever, for any reason, the form cannot be filled out by the one who was in the service, it should be done by a member of the family.

2. *Military Units.*—It is extremely important to gather as full records as possible of the military units in which Marylanders served, and of ships and naval stations. The records desired include histories, rosters, especially of Maryland men (with addresses), copies of official orders and other records, narratives, diaries, unit newspapers, photographs, insignia, trophies, souvenirs, etc.; also records of activities of auxiliary organizations of the various units.

3. *Military Establishments in Maryland.*—Maryland, on account of favorable location, received a large share of the big Army and Navy establishments required by the war—notably Camp Meade, Camp Holabird, Aberdeen proving ground, Edgewood Arsenal, Curtis Bay ordnance depot, zone supply and port storage office, General Hospital No. 2 at Fort McHenry, General Hospital No. 7 at Evergreen, Jr., United States Naval Academy, Indianhead naval proving ground, section 1 of Fifth Naval District, Naval Overseas Transportation Service, and a score of other camps, posts, and offices.

Official histories and records of personnel are being received, of course, but it is greatly desired to obtain also all possible records, including historical statements or narratives by Marylanders stationed at such establishments, copies of camp or post newspapers, other publications, clippings, photographs, souvenirs, etc.

4. *Civilian records (individual).*—A form of war service record somewhat similar to the military form is being used for record of civilians connected with the Army or Navy or in the war work of the welfare organizations, and of those who rendered service of special importance or had experiences of unusual interest in any capacity in relation to the war—in government position, in finance or industry, in patriotic, welfare or relief agency, etc. It is desired to include services prior to the entrance of the United States into the war, and also reconstruction activities.

5. *Civilian war agencies and activities.*—There were a number of war agencies that stood out conspicuously: the Maryland Council of Defense; such United States Government agencies as the Selective Service Boards (military in function), Food Administration, Fuel Administration, Shipping Board, Railroad Administration, Liberty loan, war savings; the Red Cross; welfare organizations operating under the Commission on Training Camp Activities, including

the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., K. of C., J. W. B., Salvation Army, A. L. A., and W. C. C. S.

The compilation of war records, however, is not limited to these especially conspicuous agencies. It is important to secure adequate records of every agency and activity in Maryland in relation to the war: United States Government offices and activities; State, county, and local governing bodies and officers; patriotic, welfare, and relief organizations; financial institutions and business houses; commercial, agricultural, and labor organizations; professional associations; churches, schools, fraternal organizations; public meetings, celebrations or other notable events, etc. Broadly, it may be stated that a historical report is desired from every organization that did anything worthy of record in relation to the war.

The records desired include history of war activities, including record of personnel; clippings; forms, publications, posters; photographs and other exhibits, etc. The war records commission, moreover, is the proper depository for the files and records, e. g., minute books, correspondence, etc., of agencies of a temporary character.

6. *War industries.*—The contribution of Maryland's industries to the winning of the war was very large, notably in shipbuilding and munitions, but also in a great many other lines. The war records commission urgently requests a historical report from every Maryland manufacturer, producer, dealer, or contractor on production, supply, or construction work for war purposes.

7. *Newspaper files and clippings.*—Newspaper files for the period of the war constitute very important historical records. Since it is impossible in many cases to obtain complete files, it will be helpful if anyone who has copies preserved of Maryland newspapers of date between July 1, 1914, and October 1, 1919, will contribute them. Clippings also of items of war interest are valuable.

8. *War literature, etc.*—It is desired to collect all literature—books, pamphlets, addresses, sermons, poetry—produced by Marylanders, or related to events in Maryland in connection with the war. Also, similarly, music, drawings, paintings, cartoons, etc.

Note.—For the sake of uniformity, all reports, papers, etc., as far as possible, should be on letter size paper (8½ by 11).

#### MICHIGAN.

By CHARLES LANDBUM, Special Historian of the Michigan War Preparedness Board.

In no war has there been so full a realization of the importance of events and relationships as in the late World War. Along with the development of the destructive branches of the military, there have been evolved constructive agencies that were to outlast the war activities of the Governments and contribute much toward the solution of reconstruction problems which now confront the Nation. Important among these agencies is the historical interest shown during the war by which the contemporary activities, both civil and military, are being chronicled and carefully preserved for the use of the future historian. In the State of Michigan the importance of this historical interest was early recognized and provision made for the collection, classification and preservation of such documen-

tary and ephemeral material as would make it possible to transmit to the coming generations a complete and accurate account of the State's civil and military activities in the war.

During the period of the World War prior to America's entrance, sufficient time elapsed to permit a thorough consideration of the issues at stake in the great struggle. Viewing our participation in the war as a remote possibility, students directed their energies and efforts along almost purely historical lines. These lines of investigation almost invariably lead through the labyrinthian windings of the diplomatic relations involved in the evolution of the Triple Alliance and that of the Entente, together with a more or less superficial study of the unification of Germany and the development of the military system of Prussia with its counterpart in the respective nations involved in the war. Students and scholars used this purely historical background as a setting for comparisons between the Prussian and American systems of government.

With the end of American neutrality and our entrance into the struggle appear such articles as "The University of Michigan in the War," by Robert Mark Wenby and by Arthur Lyon Cross; "Michigan in the Great War," by Col. Roy C. Vandercook; "History of Camp Custer," by Lieut. George H. Maines; "History of the Thirty-Second Division," by Lieut. Col. August H. Gansser; and many others bearing on aspects of the relation of Michigan to the war; while the book entitled "Democracy and the Great War," by George Newman Fuller, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, put out by the State department of public instruction for use in the schools throughout the State and largely used in the Students' Army Training Corps, in a very concise and able manner dealt with the national phase of the subject. These and many other creditable productions had for their motive, for the most part, the clarification of the issues of the war with a view to deepening spiritual convictions and thus making the State more efficient as a unit in the war machine.

The collection and preservation of the official records and other historical data relating to the war has largely devolved upon the public libraries of the State, which have become the depositories for all agencies engaged in this phase of the work. The State board of library commissioners made plans for the performance of this service, and all the libraries of the State have assisted in its execution. In such libraries as the Detroit Public Library, State Library, the libraries of the University of Michigan and the colleges of the State, Grand Rapids Public Library, Saginaw Public Library, Kalamazoo Public Library, the Houghton Public Library, and many others, are preserved complete files of the newspapers and magazines of

Michigan, as well as the documentary and more ephemeral material relating to the war. These collections are increasing daily in volume, and only the lack of facilities properly to care for this material will embarrass the librarians who have voluntarily assumed the responsibility for this work.

The popular lecture proved to be a valuable means of enlightening the public in regard to the causes of the war and in maintaining a spirit of devotion, service, and sacrifice, which was so apparent throughout the entire period of the war. The efforts of the university, the colleges, the pulpit, the four-minute men, the Chautauqua and lyceum bureau, and the Open Forum were especially commendable. Prominent among the platform orators were Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, in the National Security League, and Caroline Bartlett Crane, head of the women's work in the State, and many others, who gave their time and talent in an effort to foster and sustain a spirit of cooperation and unity.

In the World War the colleges played a more important rôle than in any previous war—a result of the tremendous growth and expansion of the colleges and universities in the last half century. Not only did the alumni and students furnish the leaders in the preparation for and prosecution of the war, but the colleges themselves become nuclei from which radiated the influences necessary to sustain the war spirit and in which were carried on the scientific activities essential to the successful prosecution of a modern war. Thus, during the war, the university and the colleges of Michigan were transformed from a peace basis to a war basis, and the curricula revised to meet the exigencies of the time, by the introduction of courses on causes of the war, food conservation and substitutes, nursing, military training, naval engineering, etc. So complete was the transformation that by the close of 1918, when the Students' Army Training Corps had been introduced, the university and colleges presented the appearance of armed camps rather than institutions of learning.

This transformation of the higher institutions was inevitably reflected in the high schools and graded systems. By legislative enactment, military training was made compulsory in high schools where classes of 20 or more made application for that subject. Such organizations as the Junior Red Cross and the Boys' Working Reserve were all-inclusive of the public-school system, and demand for instruction made it necessary that the State department of public instruction supply a special course of lessons upon the great war, thus disseminating much historical information throughout the State and rendering public opinion more enlightened and resolved. By such methods public opinion was thoroughly aroused and senti-

ment so crystallized around the "win the war" effort that the State readily responded to every call made upon it in the struggle.

The most important agency, both as regards the prosecution of the war and the collection, compilation, and preservation of historical material relating to the war, has been the Michigan War Preparedness Board, created by legislative enactment April 18, 1917, with the duty of assuming general control and management of all war operations within the State. By this act the war preparedness board was to consist of Gov. Albert E. Sleeper, chairman; Attorney General Alex. A. Groesbeck; Auditor General Oramel B. Fuller; State Treasurer Samuel Odell; Secretary of State Coleman C. Vaughan; and Superintendent of Public Instruction Thomas E. Johnson (successor to Fred L. Keeler, deceased).

Diversified and engrossing as were the duties of this board, yet it found time to provide for the historical interests of the State. Provision was made for the collection of war records of the soldiers and sailors from their respective counties and for collecting and preserving the records of civilian activities relating to the war. Through the cooperation and courtesy of the Michigan Historical Commission and the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, the services of their joint secretary, Dr. George Newman Fuller, were secured by the war board to take charge of collecting the material and of publishing a history of Michigan in the Great War.

Coeval with the activities of the war preparedness board the Michigan Historical Commission had been organizing the work of collecting and preserving the material relating to the war, both ephemeral and documentary. The Michigan History Magazine, published quarterly by the commission, had special articles giving publicity to the drive for historical material, and a carefully prepared bulletin (No. 10) containing a detailed plan for collecting material in the various counties, together with an outline for county histories, was widely distributed throughout the State.

The method of collecting the material has been to organize the county as a unit, enlisting the cooperation of the local historical societies and various social and patriotic organizations, such as the women's clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Grand Army of the Republic, together with the schools and libraries, and, where possible, the lodges, churches, and business men's organizations. The material is brought to a central depository in the county, usually a public library at the county seat, where it is classified and filed for preservation. In this way the spirit of local interest and pride has been made productive along historical lines and much material that would otherwise be lost has been saved from destruction and made available for the future historian of the war.

## MINNESOTA.

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, Department of History, University of Minnesota, and FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK, Secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission.

When America entered the World War it is probable that only in two or three States of the Union were there larger elements which misdoubted the need of belligerent action, and which for varying motives preached "neutrality," than were present in Minnesota. This was not entirely due to the existence of a large German population. The State was remote from any possible scene of hostilities; the chief economic interests centered around agriculture, and international problems, dangers, and duties were very vague in the minds of many entirely patriotic citizens. The moment, therefore, that Congress declared war, and indeed for some months earlier, as it became clearer that we must participate in the European struggle, the obligation of social science teachers in the colleges and universities of the State was plain—to assist in teaching their fellow citizens the awful seriousness of the world crisis and the unavailability of our playing a manly part in it.

Thus, in the faculties of the private institutions, Prof. John D. Hicks, of Hamline University, published numerous articles on war issues, gave patriotic lectures and conducted with success the Students' Army Training Corps war aims courses in his institution. Similar important services were rendered by Prof. Henry D. Funk, of Macalester College; and Prof. James Howard Robinson, of Carleton College, was on the board of lectureship for the National Security League and conducted the Students' Army Training Corps war aims work at Northfield, while his assistant, Mr. Henry R. Mueller, was privileged to render active military service in France during the war period.

At the University of Minnesota very soon after the declaration of war a conference was held of the active members of the history and political science departments, at which it was agreed to undertake systematically a campaign of patriotic education throughout the State. The keynote of the conference was that it was criminal to ask citizens to make heavy economic sacrifices, and, very possibly, themselves to fight and die, unless every possible means were taken to convince them of the justice and necessity of our joining in the struggle. It was arranged to prepare an annotated edition of President Wilson's War Message, explaining all the historical and diplomatic allusions in a form capable of very general circulation. The manuscript of this annotated edition was ready in April from the pens of Profs. C. D. Allin and William Anderson, of the po-

litical science department, and William Stearns Davis, of the history department; but before it could be printed locally it was taken by the Federal Committee on Public Information at Washington. By them it was published officially as the first in their much circulated War Information Series under the title "The War Message and the Facts Behind It," the alterations and additions to the original draft being very few.

This publication was merely the forerunner of a number of patriotic, informational documents prepared by members of the State university faculty. In May, 1917, Dean Guy S. Ford, of the graduate school, was summoned to Washington as director of the civic and educational division of the Committee on Public Information. He remained at this important post for the duration of the war. It is not too much to say that he was responsible for an extremely large fraction of all the undeniable successes which the committee achieved, and that he was never associated with any of those discussions which arose around some by-products of that well-known organization. The departure of Dean Ford was the beginning of an exodus from the university faculty, which sometimes made the prosecution of the prosaic but indispensable historical teaching work something of a problem.

At the request of the Minnesota State Public Safety Commission a popular handbook was prepared, mainly by the social science departments, in June, 1917—"Facts About the War"—a brochure of some 60 pages, containing brief concrete articles calculated to supply patriotic speakers with handy, specific information on such matters as "Submarine aggressions," "Conscription v. the volunteer system," "The Pan-German dream," "The Belgian deportations," etc. The pamphlet was in such request that it was soon reprinted, and a good many of the articles were also reprinted in their own speaker's handbook, issued by the South Carolina State Council of Defense.

In the fall of 1917 Prof. A. C. Krey, of the department of history, went to Washington and devoted considerable time rendering effective service in the preparation of the pamphlet, "German War Practices," which was issued under the editorship of Dr. Dana C. Munro, of Princeton, by the Committee on Public Information, and which ranked among the most effective documents issued during that time of ardor.

Prof. Wallace Notestein, of the department of history, in collaboration with his colleague, Dr. Elmer Stoll, of the English department, about the same time, published through the same committee, first, an annotated edition of "The President's Flag Day Oration (June 14, 1917)," and then a fairly elaborate volume, "Conquest and



Kultur: Aims of the Germans in Their Own Words." In the first pamphlet they had the assistance of Profs. William Anderson and A. C. Krey; in the second that of Profs. Anderson and Mason W. Tyler, also two or three other scholars in sister institutions. The last-named compilation, prepared with learning and scrupulous accuracy, was widely reprinted in the newspapers of the country.

Prof. Notestein was then given leave of absence from the University of Minnesota for the duration of the war. He worked mainly on Col. House's "Inquiry" of experts to prepare data against the negotiation of peace, dealing chiefly with the problem of Alsace-Lorraine; subsequently he went to Paris in 1919 and occupied a distinguished position on the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, as "chief of the German section." Prof. Mason W. Tyler also conducted investigations and prepared reports for the House "Inquiry," his field being the Balkans and the Adriatic.

While these gentlemen were serving the cause away from the campus the "common task" went on for their less fortunate colleagues, handling a student body, which, if it somewhat lost in numbers, still remained large and replete with exacting problems. The history department was administered in the absence of Dean Ford, by Prof. A. B. White; and in September, 1918, he undertook the arduous duty of director and organizer for the "war aims" work of the Students' Army Training Corps, when suddenly some 4,000 students, many of them with exceedingly fragmentary notions of human annals, had to be put through an adequate course in what amounted to the history of Europe for the past 40 years. Thanks to Dr. White a sufficient corps of instructors were assembled, library facilities mobilized, and a very disjointed body of student soldiers set at systematic problems. The Students' Army Training Corps in this university showed the vicissitudes of the same undertaking in other institutions, but it is right to assert of the "war aims" work that it genuinely gave to the pupils a great deal; that many of them left the university with clear notions of scientific history, as well as a mass of patriotic propaganda; and that the success of the "war aims" course was attested by the fact that after the Students' Army Training Corps was disbanded many students who had attended by compulsion while in khaki cheerfully elected history when they continued their studies by free choice.

Nearly all the other members of the history and political science groups found opportunities for something more than the classroom routine. Profs. C. D. Allin and William Anderson, of the political science department, gave numerous patriotic addresses and taught Students' Army Training Corps classes in "war aims." Prof. Jeremiah Young, of the same department, besides similar service, directed and organized special courses of study in European problems,

especially available for teacher's institutes, in several States of the Northwest. He also acted as district inspector in the Students' Army Training Corps.

In the history department Prof. L. B. Shippee taught several sections in the "war aims" work and contributed to the handbook on diplomatic history published by the Government under the chief direction of Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College. Prof. Mason W. Tyler cooperated in these same forms of work. In addition he assisted the Committee on Public Information in the preparation of several of its pamphlets, and did not a little to assemble material on many significant diplomatic subjects for Col. House's "Inquiry" and Prof. F. M. Anderson's handbook on foreign relations before mentioned. Prof. Solon J. Buck, besides his large services through the Minnesota Historical Society, elsewhere referred to, gave public addresses and taught a class in "war aims" during the Students' Army Training Corps epoch. Prof. N. S. B. Gras was instructor in a similar course; and prior to his coming to Minnesota, in the fall of 1918, he had been research assistant in the War Trade Board at Washington, busied chiefly with the details of American trade with Italy and the British Empire.

Finally may be mentioned the work of Prof. William S. Davis, who, in addition to teaching in the Students' Army Training Corps work, wrote, in collaboration with Profs. William Anderson and Mason W. Tyler, already named, "The Roots of the War—a Non-technical History of Europe, 1870–1914." This book was published in May, 1918, by the Century Co., at the suggestion of the Committee of Public Information. It enjoyed considerable circulation in civilian reading circles and military libraries, and was adopted by about 50 colleges and universities as their textbook in the Students' Army Training Corps.

From the very beginning of American participation in the war the Minnesota Historical Society has been active in the collection of local war history material, but for some time the burden of this work has rested upon a separate, though closely affiliated, agency—the Minnesota War Records Commission.

This commission was created provisionally, at the suggestion and with the cooperation of the historical society, by the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety in October, 1918, and was established by law the following April. Its primary object is to collect and preserve, in State and county war records, collections, all available material relating to Minnesota's part in the war. The commission acts through its immediate representatives, which include a field agent; through voluntary county war records committees, which have been organized in all parts of the States; and with the cooperation of other State departments and organizations, including the American

Legion. The work of the central body is financed by the State at the rate of \$5,000 a year during the present biennium, 1919-1921, while the county committees draw their support from county boards and other local governing bodies, which are specially authorized by law to appropriate funds for local war record purposes in amounts ranging from \$250 for villages and \$1,000 for counties to \$5,000 for cities of the first class.

One of the commission's aims is to compile and collect records of the individual services of all Minnesota soldiers, sailors, marines, Army welfare workers, and leaders in civilian war work, and to duplicate these records so far as possible in the State and county collections. For this purpose use is made of a series of appropriate blank forms, or questionnaires. The usual means are taken to reach members of the various groups under canvass, but in the case of the largest group, the service men, the commission has enjoyed an exceptional advantage. In the fall of 1919 the legislature granted a cash bonus to these men and created a body known as the soldiers' bonus board to raise and distribute the funds allowed for this purpose. At the suggestion of the war records commission the board included the commission's military service record form among the blanks which every applicant for the State bonus is required to fill out. As a result the commission has received through the bonus board upward of 80,000 completed service records, and there is every prospect that the arrangement will result in the recording of rather complete data on the careers of most Minnesota men in the service. In addition to such formal statements of service, the commission seeks, and in many instances has obtained, from service men and others supplementary material, such as photographs, letters, citations, and other personal records. From a number of individuals prominent in different lines of activity the commission has obtained, through personal solicitation, private collections of material which is valuable not only for its personal associations, but also for its contributions to various phases of the history of State and national participation in the war.

Other material acquired for the State collection relates to the history of organized or group activities conducted on a State-wide basis or otherwise of interest to the State as a whole. Books and printed matter assembled by the commission and the historical society include histories of military units, county war histories, files of local newspapers and of camp and overseas publications, and numerous collections of the printed and other miscellany which formed a part of the working paraphernalia of every prominent war organization. Another class of material secured consists of unpublished reports and narrative accounts covering the work of leading State and local war agencies, including Minnesota county chapters

of the American Red Cross, State and local branches of the Food Administration, the University of Minnesota, and the State branch of the Fuel Administration. In the course of the personal canvass which has yielded much of the foregoing material, special efforts have been made to secure the custody of the headquarters files of official correspondence and papers of the various war agencies active in the State. Considerable bodies of such records have already been received from the Minnesota branches of national agencies, such as the United States Employment Service, Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, Y. M. C. A. War Council, Jewish Welfare Board, American Library Association, and War Camp Community Service; from State agencies, such as the department of home economics of the State agricultural college and the Americanization committee of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety; from local agencies, such as councils of home defense, Liberty loan committees, recruiting agents, and Boy Scouts; and negotiations for other similar bodies of original records are in progress. To the collection of battlefield relics, motion-picture films, photographs, posters, and other mementoes of the war period assembled in the historical museum, the commission has been able to make notable additions.

The county committees of the commission are asked to collect the war records of their several communities in accordance with suggestions outlined in bulletins entitled "A State-wide Movement for the Collection and Preservation of Minnesota's War Records" and "County War History: Prospectus and Guide to the Collection of Material," the latter being issued in mimeographed form. The work of the committees is directed for the most part at long range through the medium of these bulletins and of circular letters and correspondence, though State workers have had personal conferences, either at State headquarters or in their home communities, with some 25 of the local leaders. Widely varying degrees of interest and efficiency are shown by the local organizations, but it may be stated that, taken as a whole, the committees are accumulating considerable material of value, and that committees here and there throughout the State will undoubtedly see the work through. A number of the committees in rural counties have obtained from their county boards the legal maximum of \$1,000 and the city of St. Paul has granted to its county committee the sum of \$5,000. These committees and others which have secured smaller sums have their own letterheads, printed circulars, and blank forms, and a number employ paid secretaries or clerks. Ten committees have decided, upon their own motion, not only to gather the counties' war records, but to prepare and publish county war histories. One of the most active committees, reporting in November, 1919, had compiled complete lists of service men, Gold Star men, Red

Cross nurses, and others in war service from the county; secured service records and photographs from about 75 per cent of these men and women; collected group photographs of all draft contingents, National Guard companies, and local war-work committees; made transcripts of practically all of the records of the local draft board (except questionnaires) before the originals were sent to Washington; and assembled more or less complete files of reports and original records representing the activities of practically all the leading local war agencies. All the committees are encouraged to build up collections of material for preservation in the counties, and to send in for the State collection such duplicate material as can readily be secured or provided.

When the State commission was established as a statutory body it was directed not only to collect material but also "to provide for the preparation and publication, as a permanent memorial record, of a comprehensive documentary and narrative history of the part played by the State in the World War, including conditions and events within the State relating to or affected by the war; and also for the preparation and publication of a condensed narrative of Minnesota's part in the war, suitable for distribution to the soldiers and sailors from the State in recognition of their services to the Commonwealth." A tentative plan for the proposed comprehensive history, previously submitted in a bulletin entitled "Minnesota's Part in the War; Shall it be Adequately Recorded?" contemplated a 10-volume work, consisting of three volumes giving brief individual mention of all service men and leading civilian war workers of the State; one volume containing biographical sketches and portraits of the men who lost their lives in the service; three volumes of important, typical, and interesting documents of the period; and three volumes presenting in a series of historical narratives the story of the State's war service in all its various phases. But the realization of this, or of any other plan of publication which the commission may adopt, awaits the granting of more adequate funds by the legislature. In the meantime the commission is devoting its energies to the more immediately important task of collecting material.

#### MISSISSIPPI.

The following letter was received from the director of the Department of Archives and History:

JACKSON, MISS., *March 8, 1920.*

MR. NEWTON D. MERENESS,

*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. MERENESS: I am in receipt of your appeal to the various historical agencies to join you in a cooperative plan for the preparation of an account of historical activities in the United States during the recent war. At present all available funds in this department are used in local historical work

for the collection and classification of materials relating to the war. We wish, first, to get all our local material collected and in shape before going further.

Regretting that we are not in a position to join you, and with kind regard, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

DUNBAR ROWLAND.

#### MISSOURI.

By FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Historical research for increasing the fund of historical knowledge regarding questions pertaining to the war was confined to magazine and newspaper articles, if exception is made of the voluminous literature published by State institutions, boards, and organizations of a purely utilitarian character, and if further exception is made in the case of all research that is nonhistorical. By strict criticism exception might also be well taken in the case even of newspapers, but such a criticism could hardly apply to some of the journalistic productions. The Missouri Historical Review, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, carried a series of articles, beginning in April, 1917, on "Missouri and the War." This series was not concluded until July, 1919. The articles were written in a popular style, but were based upon historical research. They summarized the questions pertaining to the war as far as they concerned Missouri, and summarized the activities of Missouri in connection with these questions.

A large percentage of public-spirited and educated citizens of Missouri contributed articles for publication in newspapers and periodicals for the diffusion of historical information necessary to enlighten public opinion regarding the issues of the war. These contributions were, however, not necessarily more extensive or valuable than those which appeared in the newspapers and periodicals of other States. It was part of the patriotic spirit of the times to perform this service. The result was thousands of contributed articles of this character.

The circulation of books and periodicals containing historical information was largely under the control and direction of the Missouri Library Commission at Jefferson City, acting through the public libraries of the State. The most important agencies were the university library and the large public libraries in St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph. Special mention should also be made regarding this character of work of the five State teachers' college libraries and also the denominational college libraries.

Lectures on historical subjects were either under the control and direction of patriotic organizations or educational institutions. Of the latter, special mention should be made of the University of Missouri and the five State teachers' colleges.

Cooperation between the State council of defense and the State Historical Society of Missouri was very close. It resulted in the former body placing all of its correspondence and records, both public and private, on deposit with the historical society.

War histories under preparation during the war relating to the organization and operation of different branches of war service were confined to reports of State boards having direct connection with such service, such as the Report of the Missouri Council of Defense for 1917, 1918, and 1919, published by the State of Missouri in 1919, and the proposed report of Adjutant General Harvey C. Clark, State of Missouri, on the complete roster of Missouri men in service.

The collection and preservation of war records have been undertaken by two agencies, the adjutant general's office in Jefferson City and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. The former has confined its activities to soldier records, enlisting in this work citizens in each of the counties of the State and in the city of St. Louis, and enlisting also the services of the Missouri Historical Society. The State Historical Society of Missouri has confined its activities to the collection and preservation of the published reports of volunteer organizations, ephemeral war literature, such as posters circulars, etc., records of Missouri casualties, embracing personal histories of each casualty, the records of the State council of defense, and copies of reports of State-wide volunteer war organizations.

There is no work in preparation covering the history of the State's participation in the war. This matter has, to a large extent, been met by the articles which appeared in the Missouri Historical Review during the progress of the war. A number of county histories, however, have been produced, or are in process of compilation. Some of these are commercialized projects; others are genuine county war histories.

#### MONTANA.

By PAUL C. PHILLIPS, of the Department of History and Political Science,  
University of Montana.

Historical activities in Montana in connection with the war amount to practically nothing. There was no historical research. With regard to the diffusion of historical information necessary to enlighten public opinion there were about the usual number of articles appearing in newspapers. Most of the articles, however, were syndicate matter and unsigned. I personally wrote several articles while I was in Washington, and these were published in a number of Montana newspapers. The libraries furnished a good many books regarding the war, and a number of people took correspondence courses on subjects relating to the war. The university extension

department offered a number of lectures on such topics as "The Nations of the War," throughout the State, while the war was going on. The university offered in the summer time a special course on the historical background of the war and the war itself. The course on the historical background of the war was very similar to the course on war issues offered to the Students' Army Training Corps. Nothing has been done to collect and preserve a record of the war.

## NEBRASKA.

Information supplied by the Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

The secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society was overseas during the war, acting in the capacity of a war correspondent. He brought home files of European newspapers, pamphlets, war handbills and posters, and museum material. The society has received the records of the State council of defense and is still collecting manuscript and other material for future book publications. Several county histories have already appeared, and two or three of them are of real merit. An appropriation of \$7,000 for war-record and war-history work was made by one branch of the legislature in 1919, but was cut out in conference committee.

## NEVADA.

By JEANNE WIER, Secretary of the Nevada Historical Society.

1. Historical research and the production of books for increasing the fund of historical knowledge regarding questions pertaining to the war: No publication of books; some research work conducted by Nevada Historical Society.

2. The diffusion of historical information necessary to an enlightened public opinion regarding the issues of the war:

(a) By the contribution of articles for publication in newspapers and periodicals: "Why America is in the war," by President Walter E. Clark, University of Nevada; "Who is it that rules Germany," by Charles W. Spencer, professor of political science, University of Nevada; "What Germany wants," by Jeanne Elizabeth Wier, professor of history, University of Nevada. All of the above were printed in the Reno Evening Gazette, March 11 to April 1, 1918.

(b) By promoting the circulation of books and periodicals containing important historical information: Library of the Nevada Historical Society containing war literature was open to the public. The department of history in the University of Nevada constantly cited its students to such articles.

(c) By lectures: A series of lectures was given by members of the university faculty at the Reno high school. Prof. Romanzo Adams spoke on the economic causes of the war on March 27, 1918.



(d) By teaching in schools and colleges: The history department in cooperation with the economics department at the University of Nevada gave a three-hour course on war history, for one semester, to the Students' Army Training Corps. Dr. Romanzo Adams, of the economics department, gave one-third of the lectures, and Asst. Professor Feemster, of the history department, gave the remainder. Prof. R. C. Thompson and Prof. Jeanne Elizabeth Wier assisted with the quiz sections, and were to have delivered the later lectures of the course had it not been discontinued with the first semester.

3. Cooperation with the State council of defense, etc. The Nevada Historical Society acted as the historical division of the council of defense.

4. Preparation during the war of histories of the organization and operation of different branches of war service: Nothing completed though beginnings were made.

5. Collection and preservation of war records: Nevada Historical Society has gathered much material.

6. Preparation for an early history of State's participation in the War: The Nevada Legislature of 1919 appropriated \$5,000 for collecting and writing its war history, and \$2,000 for the printing of the same. Work assigned to secretary of the Nevada Historical Society, Jeanne Elizabeth Wier.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

This report was prepared from a letter by RICHARD WELLINGTON HUSBAND, associate dean, Dartmouth College.

In August, 1917, Mr. R. W. Husband was appointed State war historian by the New Hampshire Committee on Public Safety. His duties were twofold: first, to write a narrative of the activities during the war period of the committee on public safety and of its eighteen sub-committees; second, to compile the service record of all persons of New Hampshire who were in the military or naval forces of the United States and its allies. The first part of the task is completed and ready for the press; the second is nearing completion. New Hampshire had approximately 23,000 persons in the service, and Mr. Husband has succeeded so far in securing the service record of over 20,000 of them. All material for this record has been collected by voluntary workers in each town and city of the State. During the war Mr. Husband, on various occasions, published articles in the newspapers and elsewhere giving some account of New Hampshire's progress in meeting its obligations at the close of the war. He published an article in the Granite Monthly on "The Wartime Temper of the State."

The history of the New Hampshire Food Administration has been written by James W. Tucker and Prof. Richard Whorisky, and is an excellent record of what was done by Huntley N. Spaulding, Federal food administrator for New Hampshire, and his associates.

Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College, was commissioned to prepare a thoroughgoing account of diplomatic relations of the United States from about the year 1870. He accompanied the Peace Commission to Paris as expert advisor in American diplomatic relations.

The New Hampshire Historical Society, acting upon the recommendation of the State war historian, has voted to apply to the State government for an appropriation necessary to secure possession of all documents still existing in the State which tell of the various war activities.

#### NEW MEXICO.

By LANSING B. BLOOM, Secretary of the State Historical Service.

The State Historical Service of New Mexico, consisting of a board of three members, was organized in August, 1917, for the purpose of gathering and compiling the war records of the State. A secretary, under salary, took charge of the office October 1, and quarters were furnished by the State museum.

In 18 of the 26 counties representative men and women accepted positions as "county historians" and some of them have given very effective help to the historical service. In other counties cooperation has been given by units of the Red Cross home service and the American Legion and by various individuals.

It was decided that the historical service should secure, among other data, the records of the men in military service, and accordingly one of the first tasks undertaken was to card-index every man who entered service from New Mexico. So far as possible this was done from official sources of information, but the data thus secured were a relatively small part of the information gradually gathered and entered on the records of these men. Some sixty daily and weekly papers of the State supplied their issues to the historical service during the war-period; everything of historical value was blue-penciled, and the papers were filed chronologically for preservation and for reference as needed. The great mass of data on all lines of civilian activities during the war has not yet been digested, but before the papers were filed every item on the men in military service was entered on the proper index card. As a result the usual experience is that, when a former officer or enlisted man asks to see his record in the archives, he is surprised at the completeness and correctness of the information already entered.

These military records have been further supplemented, however, by a special record-blank, printed in the fall of 1919 and sent out to every man in the index. Of these about 25 per cent have been returned undelivered, which corresponds favorably with the reported 33 per cent which the Federal authorities have been unable to reach at their home addresses. Some 4,500 have been filled out and sent back, accompanied by unmounted pictures, and these have been filed individually in fireproof cases. Original letters and copies and miscellaneous papers are placed in their respective files.\* Many of the men have not yet sent in their records, but forms are continually coming in, and it is hoped with the cooperation of local agencies ultimately to have this part of the records very complete.

As soon as casualties were reported, correspondence was taken up with relatives or friends. Of the 456 who died in service, or directly from disabilities incurred in service, pictures of 398 and complete records of nearly all are in the archives, and the rest are being obtained gradually, though in some cases with great difficulty and after long search. Copies of the pictures, in uniform size and with names in gummed lettering, are being placed in fixed frames under glass on the walls of the memorial room in the old palace of the governors, and similar copies accompanied by biographical sketches will complete the "Book of Gold," which lies on the table. Still other copies have been sent to the relatives, as well as more than 300 enlargements furnished at cost. This photographic record alone represents an outlay in labor and materials of approximately \$2,000, or an average of \$5 for each man of whom a picture has been secured. Three large tablets placed on the walls of the memorial room show, in six long columns, the names and home addresses of all who died in service; and a framed map, indicating the counties in outline, shows by gold stars the total that died from each county. In glass cases are displayed a valuable aggregation of war souvenirs, including both loans and gifts to the State museum. The number of these is steadily growing, as men who served turn in documents, histories of units, souvenirs, and curios which they brought back from the front.

The value of the State's war archives has already been demonstrated repeatedly, and a few instances may be cited. Last summer the father of one who died in service lost all his possessions by fire, including all records relating to his son; but he received from the historical service a transcript of the data in the archives and a copy of the picture which he had first loaned. Relatives of a Santa Fe county man who died after discharge lost the papers necessary to secure the bonus due them, and the War Department could not locate his record. He was found indexed in the State office and his

identity established. Lists and information have been supplied to various units of the Red Cross home service, and of the American Legion, to the Federal Office for Vocational Training, to State and county offices in connection with tax exemption.

Similar indexes and records of civilians and their part in the war might be built up, if an adequate office force and the necessary funds were provided, by digesting the great mass of material already in the archives and by gathering in the records now scattered all over the State.

In January, 1919, a preliminary history of New Mexico in the Great War was prepared in manuscript, with illustrations, but a combination of circumstances prevented its intended publication. Four chapters, however, appear in the 1919 Blue Book.

The historical service, having been left without funds in January, 1920, was formally transferred to the State museum in April of that year.

#### NEW YORK.

The information in this report was furnished by JAMES SULLIVAN, State Historian and Director of the Division of Archives and History.

Several members of the University of the State of New York delivered lectures in various cities and villages of the State, sometimes under the auspices of the local historical or patriotic societies, and at other times as agents of the Committee on Public Information or in behalf of the Liberty loans, to make clear to the people the issues at stake. The people chosen for this work were naturally those from the history field, as it was a work which came in their particular bailiwick.

The Division of Archives and History, along with the State library, did a considerable amount in the matter of making selections of books to be distributed to the libraries throughout the State on subjects pertaining to the World War. It also undertook to distribute to historical societies and others the numerous pamphlets which were sent to it by the Committee on Public Information. Exhibitions were given in the State library at Albany and also in local libraries of this kind of material. Special shelves were set aside in the high school and other libraries of the State, and pamphlets relating to the war placed thereon.

By means of the University Bulletin, which is issued to all of the schools of New York State twice a month, lists of books and material of a patriotic nature were got together by the division of archives and history and placed in the hands of the teachers for the purpose of encouraging them to convey to their pupils the full information with reference to the objects for which the war was being fought.

The division cooperated with the State council of defense, and the head of it, at the request of the adjutant general and the governor, made a tour in certain sections of the State during what was known as "Wake-up America week." The division also cooperated with the same body and with the Department of Justice of the United States in making certain translations of correspondence and other papers which were taken from aliens and others.

Within a few days after the declaration of war on the part of the United States circular letters were sent out from the division to the 110 historical societies of the State; to all of the 750 libraries; to the corresponding number of school libraries; to patriotic societies, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution; to chambers of commerce; to certain individuals; and to town, county, village, and city clerks, urging upon them the extreme desirability of starting a collection of all kinds of material listed under categories similar to those indicated by the National Board for Historical Service. A correspondence was also carried on with the chairmen of the county councils of defense, subordinate branches of the State council of defense, along similar lines. Many of those appealed to undertook this work with a considerable degree of enthusiasm, but very many were so pressed with other duties of the war service that very little was done. The Y. M. C. A. and Red Cross were petitioned to have accounts prepared of their work in New York State. Some of this is still underway. The material which has been gathered has in some cases been transmitted to the State library for classification and preservation, and in other cases the local library, particularly when it is in a fireproof building, has retained the local material.

The Senate and the Assembly of the State passed a resolution in April, 1919, calling upon the division to prepare a history of New York State's participation in the World War. To assist in the collection of this material the Legislature also passed a law calling for the appointments of local historians in each political unit of the State. About 50 per cent of these have so far been duly chosen and have been set to work to gather material of interest for this history. In some localities the political division has already published the results of these investigations; the city of Buffalo may be cited as an example. In some counties—Chautauqua for example—there has been undertaken a history of the county's participation in the World War by a commercial publishing company. Similarly in some cities commercial agencies have undertaken this work; namely, in Albany.

Paragraphs 1198 and 1199 of the act are as follows:

A local historian shall be appointed, as provided in this section, for each city, town, or village, except a city of over 1,000,000 inhabitants. Such local historian shall be appointed as follows: For a city, by the mayor; for a town,

by the supervisor; for a village, by the president of the board of trustees. Such historian shall serve without compensation, unless the governing board of the city, town, or village for which he or she was appointed, shall otherwise provide. In a city having a board of estimate and apportionment a resolution or ordinance establishing compensation or salary for such historian shall not take effect without the concurrence of such board. The local authorities of the city, town, or village for which such historian is appointed may provide the historian with sufficient space in a safe, vault, or other fireproof structure for the preservation of materials collected.

It shall be the duty of each local historian, appointed as provided in the last section, in cooperation with the State historian, to collect and preserve material relating to the history of the political subdivision for which he or she is appointed, and to file such material in fireproof safes or vaults in the city, town, or village offices. Such historian shall examine into the condition, classification, and safety from fire of the public records of the public offices of such city, town, or village, and shall call to the attention of the local authorities and the State historian any material of local historic value which should be acquired for preservation. He or she shall make an annual report, in the month of January to the local appointing officer or officers and to the State historian of the work which has been accomplished during the preceding year. He or she shall, upon retirement or removal from office, turn over to the local city, town, or village authorities, or to his successor in office, if one has been then appointed, all materials gathered during his or her incumbency and all correspondence relating thereto. The State historian, at regular intervals, not less than once a year, shall indicate to the local historians the general lines along which local history material is to be collected.

So far as this State is concerned there seems to be a disposition to turn to the historians for expert guidance along the lines indicated in the questionnaire. The historical and patriotic societies of the State, under the urging by the division, seemed to feel that it was their particular duty to see that the historian undertook the work of conducting the publicity in such a fashion as to make the population a unit in its opinion about the conduct of the war. Though this was but a natural line of activity, too much tribute can not be paid to the work of these bodies in placing before the public the facts that made the people whole-hearted in their support of the Government.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

By ROBERT BURTON HOUSE, Collector of war records, North Carolina Historical Commission.

During the years 1917, 1918, and 1919 history exerted a vital, practical force in North Carolina, resulting in a more intelligent and effective effort to win the war by the people of the State and in a renewed and deepened appreciation of history. The study, teaching, and writing of history, and the preservation of historical material manifest a renewed and varied activity to-day because of the service rendered by history during these years.

History served both to form opinion for war and to conduct the war. Even while it was yet a European struggle the war forced itself more and more insistently on the people of North Carolina as a problem on which to inform themselves and take sides. Neutrality of opinion rapidly became impossible. History, both past and contemporary, formed the subject matter of their consideration during this period of forming opinions. The entry of the United States into the struggle found the people enthusiastically in support of this action, but unready for it. History then became the guide to organization and action. Historians not only furnished historical information to the people of the State as a guide to action, but also themselves, in many instances, directed action as executives. By teaching, writing, speaking, and doing specific pieces of war work they put both history and historians squarely into the war.

Naturally, therefore, history retains to-day in large measure the interest, importance, and support which it gained during the years of the war. A larger proportion of the people of North Carolina study history now than before the war. More fields of historic interest are being explored now than before the war; and institutions both for teaching and for preserving history receive increased support.

Enthusiastic support by them of the war as a national undertaking engendered in the people a desire to know more about America as a nation, about American national ideals in particular; for the utter repudiation of opposing national ideals brought out a positive assertion of our own. Study of American national ideals led naturally to consideration of the national ideals of the whole race of English-speaking peoples. Citizens of the State, both in the schools and colleges, and outside of them, formed clubs to study and perpetuate American and British national ideals and traditions.

To furnish materials for this study two books appeared through the research and industry of four professors in the University of North Carolina: *American Ideals*, by Norman Foerster and W. W. Pierson (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1917), and *The Great Tradition*, by Edwin Greenlaw and J. H. Hanford (Chicago, Scott, 1919). *American Ideals* brings together in one volume the great expressions of American national ideals from the earliest times to the present. *The Great Tradition* includes within one volume the national ideals of all English-speaking people from the earliest times to the present. Supplementing these books and giving additional vital information, the following books appeared from the pens of North Carolinians or in North Carolina: *The Nation at War*, A. B. Scherer (New York, Doran, 1918); *Our War with Germany*, J. S. Bassett (New York, Knopf, 1919); *The Navy and the Nation*, War Time Addresses, Josephus Daniels (New York, Doran,

1919); Builders of Democracy, Edwin Greenlaw (Chicago, Scott, 1918); and Bulletin No. 25 of the North Carolina Historical Commission (Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton, 1919), a series of papers on Anglo-American relations designed to be read at Raleigh at the Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1918. The celebration of the tercentenary was prevented by the influenza epidemic, however.

Because of the rural nature of North Carolina, and the consequent isolation of families and sections from the currents of enthusiasm and information so strong in more urban States, the newspaper, the church, the school, the public speaker, and the library were vital factors in disseminating information and forming opinion. Through these agencies historians exerted their greatest influence. There is not a paper, a church, a school, or a college in North Carolina that did not radiate their influence. The speakers' bureau for the Liberty loans, publicity for chapters of the Red Cross, and other forms of publicity service, were directed by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. All the colleges of the State sent professors out to speak on the war. The University of North Carolina, through its Bureau of Extension, gave a war information service of nation-wide usefulness. By extension study centers, group lectures, correspondence courses, single lectures, readers' service through the library, and a series of war information leaflets, it reached every corner of the State with vital information. The service rendered by the other colleges of the State was of a nature similar to that of the University of North Carolina, but not so extensive. Every library in the State had to expand its service to meet the unprecedented demands for material on the war. All of the college libraries sent out packets of books and pamphlets upon request.

The formal teaching of history in those colleges maintaining a Students' Army Training Corps suffered a slump, however, in 1918. The Students' Army Training Corps courses forced academic students to revise their regular courses, and because history was one of the easiest subjects to defer till normal times, in practically all the colleges of the State, history was deferred in favor of military science. This slump in the usual courses was compensated for in some degree by the large attendance on the war issues and war aims courses of the Students' Army Training Corps. Moreover, all academic classes expanded in some way to include an interpretation of the war. One popular method was by keeping a bulletin board of information. Since the war, however, history seems to be regaining its attendance with interest. All of the leading institutions of North Carolina have modified their American and modern European history courses to interpret the war. And in addition they offer courses in contemporary American history, inter-American relations, new diplomacy, origins of the Triple Alliance, American



foreign policy, causes and outcome of the World War. There is also manifested an increasing interest in Hispanic-American history.

The full power of this historical service was therefore behind the State council of defense and all the war-work organizations. Dr. D. H. Hill, himself a historian, turned from his work of years (the preparation of a history of North Carolina in the Civil War) to direct the North Carolina Council of Defense. Not only did the historians in the State throw their influence behind the great financial drives, but contributed largely to them personally both in money and in direction. Practically all the colleges of the State were 100 per cent contributors to war finance and war charity. Practically all of them sent several members of their faculties into whole-time war work.

The concentration of the people of the State on action prevented any great concentration on preparing histories of this action. In fact, the war-savings stamps committee was the only organization to prepare and publish a history of its activities. However, the council of defense, food administration, fuel administration, and draft executives preserved completely their records. Likewise all the colleges of the State preserved records of their students, faculties, and alumni who were in the service. The State College for Women also collected and published information on the contributions of North Carolina women to the war.

The North Carolina Historical Commission exerted a powerful influence in preserving all forms of war records. Its secretary, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, directed the historical committee of the council of defense. This committee organized assistants in a majority of the counties of the State, and even by the conclusion of the war had preserved a fairly representative collection of war records.

The work of the North Carolina Historical Commission in preserving war records was given support by the general assembly of 1919, when they authorized and directed the historical commission to employ a person not only to continue collecting war records, but to prepare from them a History of North Carolina in the Great World War.<sup>25</sup> The work of collecting data for this history is now actively progressing.

#### NORTH DAKOTA.

By O. G. LIBBY, President of the North Dakota War History Commission.

The War History Commission of North Dakota was appointed by Gov. Frazier in 1918. At the session of the Legislature in 1920 the State made a small appropriation to assist the Commission in its

<sup>25</sup> Chapter 144, Public Laws, 1919, secs. 3-5.

work. A plan has been devised by Adj. General Fraser for securing the service record of every man in the Army or Navy from North Dakota.

The commission has secured the cooperation of most of the county superintendents in collecting war material. A small pamphlet has been prepared which will be mailed to a selected list of citizens who will be asked to aid in the collection and compilation of the materials for a State history of the war.

#### OHIO.

By C. B. GALBREATH, Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

No definite information is at hand regarding the contributions by the history men and women of Ohio toward the winning of the World War. The people of Ohio were, however, active in seeking and disseminating information that would lead to a clearer understanding of the issues of the war. Clippings from newspapers and periodicals in the files of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society show that almost every section of the State contributed something toward the enlightenment of the community in which they circulated on the causes and issues of the great conflict.

The library interests of the State early saw the opportunity for service that came with our entrance into the war, and promptly took action to supply books, newspapers, and periodicals to the various camps and cantonments in Ohio. Before the soldiers arrived at Camp Sherman a small working library had been established on the site of that cantonment, through the cooperation of the Ohio State Library and the public library at Chillicothe, and a system of operating it had been carefully worked out by J. Howard Dice, library organizer of Ohio; Burton E. Stevenson, librarian of the public library of Chillicothe; and Miss Edwina Glenn, former librarian of one of the branch libraries in Brooklyn, N. Y., and daughter of Maj. Gen. Glenn in command at Camp Sherman. Later Mr. Dice entered the military service and returned from France in July, 1919. Mr. Stevenson continued in charge of the work at Camp Sherman for a time, and because of the excellent record that he made here was later sent to France as the representative of the American Library Association to take charge of the work near the scene of military operations. Excellent work was done also at other military posts in Ohio, and the soldiers in training in this State, as well as those temporarily within its borders on their way to cantonments in other States or points of debarkation on the coast, were liberally supplied with reading matter.

There was much public speaking. In this way every school district of the State was reached. There were addresses by the Four-Minute Men under direction of the national organization and voluntary lectures by practically every man and woman in the State able and willing to speak on the war. There were, of course, numerous addresses by distinguished speakers from other States and other nations, and patriotic appeals in the Liberty loan, war chest, and other campaigns. The State-supported universities and normal schools were centers of great activity and enthusiasm in everything pertaining to the war.

In February, 1918, Gov. Cox appointed the Historical Commission of Ohio. This action was purely voluntary on the part of the governor, as there was no legislation providing specifically for this action. It had the hearty support, however, of a number of citizens, who realized the importance of the work that such an organization might perform. The commission was appointed as the official agency of the State for the collection and preservation of records and materials pertaining to Ohio's part in the present war. The following were designated as members of the commission: Elbert J. Benton, Western Reserve University; John E. Bradford, Miami University; Glenn D. Bradley, Toledo University; Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; George A. Cribbs, Mount Union College; Elizabeth Crowther, Western College for Women; Martha L. Edwards, Lake Erie College; George C. Enders, Defiance College; K. S. Latourette, Granville; Thomas N. Hoover, Ohio University; Walter D. Niswander, Ohio Northern University; William F. Peirce, president of Kenyon College; Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College; Emilius O. Randall, secretary Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; A. S. Root, Oberlin College; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Ohio State University; Charles Snavely, Otterbein College; Richard T. Stevenson, Ohio Wesleyan University; John I. Stewart, Muskingum College; Elizabeth A. Thompson, Municipal University of Akron; Mary A. Young, Oxford College for Women; Rev. Francis W. Howard, Holy Rosary Church, Columbus, secretary general of the Catholic Educational Association of the United States.

The purpose of the commission, as specifically stated, was to collect and preserve records and materials pertaining to the World War. Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger, of the Ohio State University, was chairman of the commission. His report, bearing date of October 25, 1918, is here given:

The commission proceeded at once to effect a cooperative arrangement with the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, according to which the headquarters of the commission were established at the society's building, the facilities of the building were placed at the disposal of the commission, and an agreement was reached, with the consent of the governor's office, that the

collections of the commission should be lodged in the library of the society. The Ohio State University also cooperated with the commission to the extent of releasing the chairman from one-half of his teaching duties during the second semester of the year 1917-18 and of assisting in providing office supplies.

At the outset the commission decided that it would endeavor to build up a great centralized collection of war records of all kinds, civilian and military, which would represent the activities of the people of the State with reference to the present war. To explain the scope of the proposed collection a bulletin was published for free distribution to every interested person. Pursuant to the purpose agreed upon, the work of the commission during the seven months of its existence has consisted of two phases:

1. The appointment of chairman of county branches of the historical commission. Up to the present time 63 county chairmen have been appointed, besides a special representative in Camp Sherman. It is the business of each county chairman to collect the documents, reports, and other records which show how the war has affected the life of his community in all its aspects. This material he is directed to send to the central office when a sufficient amount had been accumulated.

2. The collecting of material: A vast amount of Ohio's war records has already been collected and tentatively classified. A detailed enumeration would be out of place here; but perhaps it may be in order to submit a brief characterization of the general classes of material.

- (a) Pictorial material: The pictorial records of the present war are unique as compared with those of any other war in which the United States has been engaged. The commission has collected 240 large paper posters and an even greater number of lithographs, representing the many phases of activity of the Federal and local governments and of the nonofficial war service agencies. When proper supplies are obtained for the purpose, all the posters will be mounted on cloth to insure permanent preservation. At the present time 63 of them have been so cared for. The R. E. Wagner Co., official photographers at Camp Sherman, have presented the commission with a large collection of exceptionally fine panoramic views of the camp while the Eighty-Third Division was there. The commission has acquired two sets of motion picture films, one being the six reel film entitled "The Remaking of a Nation." This film, which is more than a mile in length, was presented to Maj. Gen. Edwin F. Glenn and depicts a draftee's life at Camp Sherman from the time of his first arrival until he is turned out a finished product. Another item of interest is an autographed photograph of our war President, Woodrow Wilson.

- (b) Printed material: The printed records of Ohio's part in the war are of many kinds and only a few classes can be mentioned here. The commission is receiving 139 newspapers representing most of the counties in the State. The newspapers of certain of the leading counties are being bound up, and those from the rural counties are being clipped for all references to local war activities and the clippings placed in scientifically planned scrapbooks. In addition to newspapers of the ordinary kind the commission has made a special effort to gather newspapers and magazines printed in camps and elsewhere wherever Ohio soldiers are to be found in large numbers. Besides possessing one of the few absolutely complete files of the Camp Sherman News, the commission has files of two other papers from Camp Sherman, four papers from Camp Sheridan, three from Wright Field, the Ohio Rainbow Reveille printed "somewhere in France," and other papers of a similar character.

The many war service instrumentalities which have sprung into existence to meet the needs created by the war have also been responsible for a large crop of printed periodicals and mimeographed publicity matter. As an ex-

ample of such printed periodicals the commission has files of the Ohio Food Bulletin, the Lake Division News, and the Central Liberty Loan Committee Bulletin (Cleveland). With reference to publicity material the commission has established points of contact with practically every governmental or non-governmental war agency in operation in Ohio and is receiving regularly all literature prepared for the use of newspapers, as well as other publications issued.

In order to have a record of how the war has affected the religious and industrial life of the people the commission is receiving a fairly complete list of the religious periodicals of Ohio and also a representative list of chamber of commerce publications, labor newspapers, agricultural periodicals, trade papers, and house (industrial corporation) organs. The collection of the commission contains much other printed material of a varied character which reflects religious and economic activities within the State in their relationship to the war.

The racial contributions of Ohio to the war are represented by collections of German, Slavonic, Rumanian, and Negro newspapers. Under the supervision of Mr. Carl Wittke, of the Ohio State University, all references to German-American activities and opinions in connection with the war have been clipped and mounted in scrapbooks; and it is not too much to say that this series of books will hold a unique value for future students of history. One product of the activity of the commission along this line has been the gift by Mrs. Bertha H. Krauss, Maj. Gustav Hirsch, and Mr. Ralph Hirsch, of Columbus, of 260 bound volumes of the *Express* and *Westbote*, covering the important historical period from 1843 down to the present time. Through the agency of the Federal authorities in the State the commission has obtained a number of interesting examples of antiwar propaganda used in Ohio.

(c) Written records: The commission has the substantial nucleus of a collection of soldiers' letters and diaries, the most important acquisition being a collection of several hundred letters received by Prof. Wendell Paddock, of the Ohio State University, from former students in many branches of the service. The commission also possesses a number of patriotic addresses in written or typed form, and also some accounts written by public officials of their activity in war service; such as, for instance, the account of the fuel crisis in Ohio during the winter of 1917-1918, written by Mr. E. D. Leach, former assistant State fuel administrator.

(d) Emblematical material: This portion of the collection consists of badges and buttons representative of the many branches of war service carried on in the State, of medals presented by counties and municipalities for patriotic service, and of banners and flags symbolic of wartime celebrations or patriotic achievement.

(e) Relics: The commission has made little progress in the collection of relics of the European battle fields, believing that this is a function which can be better performed by the curator of the Museum. However, the commission has encouraged the collection of relics and expects to cooperate in every way with the curator in this work.

However tedious the foregoing enumeration may have seemed, I desire to state again that it is merely suggestive of the work performed and is in no sense a complete statement of it. Surely enough has been said to suggest the vast possibilities of the work in which the historical commission is engaged and the solemn responsibility which rests upon the State of Ohio to collect war records which will show our American boys overseas that their splendid work is being appreciated now and being commemorated for all time to come. Ohio has neglected this work in the case of former wars; she is one of the foremost

States in this work now and will have no excuse for not carrying it through properly.

Those of you who are skillful in reading between lines have already guessed that such progress as the historical commission has already made would have been impossible without the material assistance and wise counsel given to the commission through the good offices of the secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Dr. E. O. Randall. Such financial aid was indispensable in view of the fact that the historical commission was created between sessions of the general assembly. To Dr. Randall, the commission and the interests represented by the commission can not be too grateful. However, it should be evident that the historical commission can not properly accomplish the purposes for which it was created without funds of its own; and as an affiliated branch of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, I believe that the society will wish to see that generous provision is made by the general assembly for the performance of this work.

In 1919 Prof. Schlesinger resigned to accept a position at the head of the department of American history in the University of Iowa. In his absence the work was taken up by W. Ferrand Felch. On August 26, 1919, Mr. Felch made a report to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society which is summarized as follows:

The writer of this statement of the condition of the archives of the Historical Commission of Ohio has been in the office as executive secretary of the commission for only two short months, and can not, therefore, give anything more than a cursory and insufficient report of the work.

Owing to the retirement of Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, the duties thereof have devolved upon the acting chairman, Dr. E. O. Randall, from whom a full report can be expected at the end of the year.

The historical commission was appointed by Gov. James M. Cox in February, 1918. The members designated to conduct its work were, in the main, the leading historical professors of all the colleges and universities of the State. This commission has since been augmented by the appointment of a series of county chairmen, acting under the instructions of the State chairman, to gather all available material in the counties that might otherwise be thrown away.

The complete and satisfactory history of any county's participation in the war can be printed only after it has been edited or largely compiled from the archives of the State commission.

It was my first impression, and Dr. Schlesinger's that the archaeological museum will become in time the Mecca for county historians, or, as he phrased it, a "laboratory" for scientific historical research, experiment, synthesis, and exploitation—forever.

We are still receiving papers from 67 of the 88 Ohio counties, in many cases two or three papers from a county, making about 150 papers in all. Scrapbooks are being formed steadily, by daily accretion. Ten are on the shelves; 16 are ready for the bindery, and 10 more partially filled out to the requisite average of 200 pages to a volume. We receive a goodly number of German newspapers, which are read and edited for our scrapbook collection by Prof. Wittke, of the historical department of the university, who is also the representative in the business of accumulating the data for this commission in Franklin County. We have also a number of Slavonic newspapers, Rumanian, Bohemian, Polish, and other languages, published in Ohio—at Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Youngstown principally; and we are still receiving, also, all

forms of blanks, press releases, printed and regulated forms, from the United States Government and State bureaus of governmental activity, which are yet in use.

It appears from the report of Mr. Felch that 21 counties of Ohio are not represented in the material collected and preserved in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. It is the purpose of the secretary of the society at an early date to make an effort to collect newspapers and newspaper accounts relating to the war from each of these 21 counties. This will be much more difficult now than it would have been 2 years ago, but not so difficult as it will be 8 or 10 years hence; and the matter is of such importance that effort and expense should not be spared to make the newspaper record for the State complete.

Prof. Carl Wittke, instructor in American history, of Ohio State University, has critically examined the collection of German papers and clippings made from the same by himself for the commission, and has published an interesting monograph entitled "Ohio's German-Language Press and the Peace Negotiations" in the January, 1920, number of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. It has also been issued in separate form. In this connection it is proper to note that Prof. Schlesinger has contributed an excellent article to the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1919, entitled "The Khaki Journalists, 1917-1919."

A few histories of military units from Ohio have already been published. Some of these are a credit to the authors, while others are a little like certain county histories, projected not so much for the purpose of faithfully portraying the service of the military organization as for extracting money from soldiers and their civilian friends. Some historian, or organization of historians, could probably at this time render a substantial service by preparing a statement in circular or pamphlet form, designed to guide those writing, or contemplating the preparation of histories of the various military organizations that participated in the World War.

At present there is a project underway for the preparation of a history of the Thirty-seventh Division, made up almost entirely of Ohio soldiers, by coöperation of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and a committee on history appointed by representatives of the division. A similar plan is suggested for a history of the Eighty-third Division, which was organized and trained at Camp Sherman. It is too early to make any definite predictions in regard to the outcome of these plans, but the prospect is promising.

The historical commission is taking up and hopes soon to press with vigor a systematic collection of narratives from Ohio soldiers who rendered distinguished service in the war. Two instances will

illustrate: A small number of Ohio men were with the little handful of American engineers under Gen. Carey when his "scratch" army halted the advance of the great German drive before the gates of Amiens. At least two of these Ohioans were killed and a surviving comrade is writing for the society an account of this action as he saw it. A number of Ohio soldiers were with the first troops that marched through London, August 15, 1917. Some of these will give their impressions of this historic march. They were the first foreign troops that had marched through that city since the days of William the Conqueror in 1066.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

By ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, Brown University, with the cooperation of H. W. CHAPIN, Librarian, Rhode Island Historical Society, and H. O. BRIGHAM, State Librarian.

I. Historical research and the production of books for increasing the fund of historical knowledge regarding questions pertaining to the war.

Answer. No special lines of historical research, and there have been no books pertaining to the war, except as hereinafter noted.

Prof. Theodore Collier, of Brown University, prepared and published in Paris (1919) "A New World in the Making: Constructive Studies in the Issues of the War, for the use of the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces"

Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of Brown University, contributed to the "War Cyclopedia," published by the Committee on Public Information.

II. The diffusion of historical information necessary to an enlightened public opinion regarding the issues of the war: (a) By the contribution of articles for publication in newspapers and periodicals; (b) by promoting the circulation of books and periodicals containing important historical information; (c) by lectures; (d) by teaching in schools and colleges.

(a) There appears to be no record of organized effort directed toward the end indicated. Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of Brown University, contributed to the History Teacher's Magazine for October, 1917, a brief article, "English Foundations of American Institutional Life."

(b) No such activities recorded, except that collections of books on the war and its historical phases were made at the Providence Public Library, Brown University, and the Providence Athenaeum.

(c) In addition to lectures which might incidentally have an historical bearing, which were given under the authority of the colleges, the chamber of commerce, the Y. M. C. A., the Bureau of Public Information, and other such agencies, definitely organized



lectures upon the causes of the war and the relation to it of the United States were given at some of the training camps of the Army, the Navy, and the Merchant Marine, in and near Boston, by Prof. Sioussat, in connection with the work of the New England group for historical service. Prof. Collier gave lectures of similar character in Rhode Island and later in Y. M. C. A. service overseas devoted much time to lectures to the men in the American Expeditionary Force.

(d) The course upon the issues of the war, planned by a committee under the authority of the United States War Department, was given at the Rhode Island State College, in the summer of 1918, to the Training Detachment, Mechanics' Unit, by President Howard Edwards; also, in connection with the Student Army Training Corps, this course was given from October to December, 1918, by President Edwards and Prof. Churchill.

In Brown University the war issues course was given, in the summer, by J. M. Gathany. In the first third of the college year 1918-1919, in connection with the Students' Army Training Corps, the management of the course upon the issues of the war was placed in the care of a committee consisting of Prof. H. B. Gardner, W. G. Everett, and St. George L. Sioussat. The lectures in the course were given by Prof. Sioussat, with a final lecture by President W. H. P. Faunce; and a number of quiz sections were conducted by Profs. Harkness, Gardner, Fowler, Benedict, Griffith, and Drs. Hansen and Bratcher, in cooperation with Prof. Sioussat.

III. Cooperation with the State council of defense, cooperation with the National Board for Historical Service, cooperation with the National Government in the prosecution of the war and in the negotiation of peace.

Apparently no such service is recorded as rendered by men devoted to the historical profession, other than the service overseas of Prof. Collier and the war-camp lectures of Prof. Sioussat, to which reference is made elsewhere. In 1919 Dr. K. K. Smith, assistant professor of Greek literature and history in Brown University, spent several months in Greece in Y. M. C. A. work.

IV. Preparation during the progress of the war of histories of the organization and operation of different branches of war service; for example, State and county food administrations.

Answer. S. Ashley Gibson, city editor of the Providence Journal, has prepared, at the request of Gov. R. Livingston Beeckman, a brief history of the State council of defense in relation to the war, with short sketches of the different branches of war activities. In addition, the following sketches exist in manuscript: Herbert O. Brigham, "History of the Food Administration"; J. Taylor Wilson, "History

of the Food Administration"; Mrs. Albert D. Mead, "History of the Woman's Committee."

Of material already in print may be cited the Yearbooks of the Providence Chamber of Commerce for 1917 and 1918-19, in which are included reports of the committee of one hundred of the chamber of commerce and the war council of the Providence Chamber of Commerce. These are very informal.

A selective service manual was issued by the director of selective service. There may be noted also the publication entitled "Roll of Honor, Ward Eight," compiled under the direction of the executive committee of the Eighth Ward Republican Club.

Statements of the service of the officers and students of Brown University and of the Rhode Island State College are included in the printed annual reports of the presidents of the respective institutions. These reports contain also an interesting record of the changes in the organization of the work of these institutions which were brought about to meet war conditions.

Rhode Island State College has published a brochure, "Rhode Island State College to Her Sons, 1917-1919." This contains an honor roll of "Our hallowed dead," and a list of "Our living heroes."

Brown University has published "Brown University in the War: A Report of the War Records Committee" (Providence, May, 1919). This comprises the "Brown Honor Roll: Biographical Sketches of Forty-two Brown Men who died in Military or Naval Service"; a "Directory of Military Service," which is intended to give the names of all men in all branches of service, and an article, "Brown University in the War," by Prof. J. Q. Dealey. Other publications of Brown University are a leaflet, "Brown in the War" (August, 1918); "Information in Regard to the Military and Naval Courses to be Offered during the Academic Year 1918-19 at Brown University" (September, 1918); "Bulletin of Brown University, Reorganization of the Curriculum for the Period of the War" (October, 1918).

Commendably full accounts of the activities of the National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations are found in the annual year books of the society (1915-16, 1917, 1918, 1919). Besides supporting many phases of Red Cross and other relief work and the various drives, the society in 1917 prepared and presented to the President of the United States a protest against the German deportations in Belgium, and in 1919 contributed to the Red Cross a motor ambulance with kitchen trailer.

In the annual reports of the Rhode Island Hospital is summarized the work of one of the chief agencies of Rhode Island's contribution to the medical side of the war, both as to personnel and in the performance of services. Especially to be noted is the record of the organization of naval base unit No. 4, organized in connection with

this hospital. The Halifax disaster was the occasion for the organization of an emergency relief corps.

The Sons of the American Revolution, other societies, churches, and civic bodies have taken part in exercises of a character partly historical, in connection with national holidays, school celebrations, Americanization courses, etc. These events could be traced by the clippings elsewhere mentioned, but no systematic attempt to compile a general record appears to have been made.

V. The collection and preservation of war records.

Answer. The service records have been transferred to the custody of the War Department at Washington. The soldiers' and sailors' information bureau have maintained a card file of questionnaires, and the soldiers' bonus board have now in preparation a card record based upon the statements made in discharge papers. Secondary war records have been kept as follows: Photographs and illustrative material were collected by the soldiers' and sailors' information bureau and transferred to the custody of the State librarian. Moving-picture films illustrating certain phases of the local activities have been deposited in the Rhode Island Historical Society. Papers of the Americanization committee have also been deposited with the society. The Rhode Island Historical Society has confined its poster collection entirely to those issued in Rhode Island, of which there have been a limited number.

During the war the Rhode Island Historical Society clipped all the items in the Providence Journal dealing with the part played by Rhode Island and Rhode Islanders in the Great War, including the activities in Rhode Island and beyond its borders. These clippings have been mounted chronologically in a series of scrapbooks.

The Rhode Island Historical Society also began to make extracts of historical material which was contained in letters from boys at the front. These extracts were typewritten, arranged by subjects, and mounted in scrapbooks. Owing to the vast amount of letters this work was by no means exhausted, and has been discontinued on account of lack of funds.

The soldiers' and sailors' information bureau, operated by the director of the draft, maintained a clipping file, which was placed in the custody of the State librarian.

On the day the United States declared war the Rhode Island Historical Society issued an illustrated broadside containing a picture of the Hessian sword captured by Americans on Rhode Island in 1778. This sword was placed on exhibit in the portrait gallery of the society during the war and labeled "A Trophy Captured from the Germans by Americans in 1778." The other side of the case was left vacant, with a card stating that the space was reserved for trophies

captured from the Germans in the present war. Later this was filled with such trophies.

VI. Preparation for an early history of the State's participation in the war. Under this head it may be quite worth while in some States to contrast the so-called county history, produced primarily for the purpose of extracting the largest possible sum of money from the county, with the genuine county history prepared by a person with some historical training and for a much lower price:

Answer. There has already been published "Battery A, One hundred and third Field Artillery in France" (an organization largely composed of Rhode Island men). Similar publications are in compilation by Battery B and Battery C, One hundred and third Field Artillery.

There are no plans for an early history of the State's participation in the war except as stated above.

"The Providence Journal Almanac" for the years 1918, 1919, and 1920 has numerous articles concerning the activities of Rhode Island war relief organizations, State's welcome to returned service men, Rhode Island honor men in the World War; also list of events local to Rhode Island.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA.

This report was prepared from a letter by A. S. SALLEY, jr., Secretary, Historical Commission of South Carolina.

The history men of South Carolina seem to have nothing to report regarding their contributions toward the winning of the war. There was no special war program for teaching history in the schools and colleges. There was also no collecting of records during the war, there being no one to collect, no money to use for that purpose, and no place in which to keep the records if they had been collected. It is reported as not known whether the council of defense saved its records or not. "Those who did things," we are told, "seemed to think it would never be necessary to tell anybody what was accomplished." However, in 1919 the general assembly appropriated \$500,000 for the erection of a building as a memorial chapel to South Carolina soldiers in the war. This building is to house the historical department of the State, which is expected to gather materials relating to South Carolina's part in the war.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA.

Contributions by the history men of South Dakota toward the winning of the war consisted mainly of addresses and the war-aims course to the Students' Army Training Corps. The legislature has provided for a State historical commission, to consist of the gov-

ernor, adjutant general, and three members to be appointed by the governor. The adjutant general is to have personal supervision of the work; a historian, appointed by the commission, is to have charge of the details. An enumeration of all service men is to be made by assessors on blanks provided by the adjutant general. County superintendents of schools and the teachers of the State have also been asked to assist in this matter. The department of history has in preparation reports of activities of several war agencies. A number of county histories have been published by private enterprise and others are in preparation.

#### TENNESSEE.

This report was prepared from a letter by JOHN TROTWOOD MOORE, Director of the Department of Library, Archives, and History, State of Tennessee.

The Department of Library, Archives, and History is actively engaged in collecting the individual records of Tennessee soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines in the World War. For this purpose the State is thoroughly organized in each of the 96 counties. There is a county mother chairman, with subchairmen in each civil district, collecting individual records, original letters, and trophies. The records are to be housed in a memorial hall, for the erection of which the legislature has appropriated the sum of \$2,000,000.

For the publication of war history there is the Tennessee Historical Committee of 25 members appointed by the governor. They are now actively at work under various subheads collecting and publishing all of Tennessee's war history from the organization of the State to the present time. A few volumes have already been published.

#### TEXAS.

By MILTON R. GUTSCH, Director, Texas War Records, University of Texas.

The declaration of war against Germany and the passage of the draft law caused so much confusion in the organization of the higher institutions of learning in the State of Texas that relatively little time could be devoted to research and production in the field of causes of the conflict. Nevertheless, a great deal was accomplished in the diffusion of historical information relating to the war issues for the purpose of instructing the public and establishing an enlightened public opinion. Articles were prepared by the faculties of the University of Texas and the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas for publication by the State press. The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin of May 15, 1918, published by the history staff of the University of Texas, contained a 75-page summary of the causes and events of the war prepared by Professor Duncalf. The

summary was entitled "A War Text for Texas Schools." It made no pretense of being either a thorough or final treatment of the war. Its purpose was to gather in concise form the more significant phases of the war so that they would be easily taught in the Texas schools. In the preface the author emphasizes the responsibility of the teachers in the development of wholesome public opinion. He says:

A heavy responsibility rests upon all history teachers in our present crisis, for their instruction will have great influence upon the opinions of their pupils. Amid the bitterness and hatred that war develops it becomes increasingly necessary for as many people as possible to keep clearly in mind the main issues of this conflict. Disloyalty and intrigue are abroad, and Americans should one and all so understand our part in this war that no doubt or faint heartedness can turn us aside from what we have undertaken to do.

This war text consists of eight chapters. The first, "Conditions at the Outbreak of the War," is divided into the following: "America," "The Rivalry of European Nations," "Prussia," "The German Constitution," "Why Germany has not Become Democratic," "Germany's Demand for a place in the Sun," "Germany's Justification of the War," "The Growth of Large Armaments," and "Efforts to Limit the Preparation for War." The second chapter discusses the "Historical Background of the War," "The Franco-Prussian War," "The Triple Alliance," "The Dual Alliance," "Change in English Policy," "The Anglo-French Entente," "The Morocco Question," "The Rise of the Balkan States," "The Development of German Interests in the East," "Austrian Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina," "The Balkan Wars," "Germany and Russia," and "Germany and England." Chapter 3, on the "Austro-Serbian Controversy," emphasizes "Austrian Hostility toward Serbia," "The Menace of Pan Slavism to the Dual Monarch," "The Assassination at Serajevo," and the "Austrian Ultimatum." Chapter 4 discusses the "Efforts to Avert War and Their Failure," "Russia's Position," "Sir Edward Grey's Proposals," "Germany's Attitude," and "Mobilization." Chapter 5 on "How the War Began," the more important topical headings are "Great Britain not Prepared for War," "England Anxious to Preserve Peace," "The Neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg," "German Demands upon Belgium," "England Enters the War," and "Other Countries Enter the War." Chapter 6, on "The Progress of the War," discusses the "Methods of Warfare," and contains a chronological summary of the military progress of the war. Chapter 7 takes up the question of "How the United States Entered the War," and Chapter 8 is a summary of "The Issues Involved," with the following divisions: "German Militarism Must be Crushed," "No Hope for Peace from the German People," "The Principle of Nationality," "What Allied Victory Will mean," "A League to Enforce Peace."

This text book was used in many of the Texas schools and a second edition was necessary.

The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin, issued quarterly and sent free of charge to every history teacher in the State of Texas, published regularly selected bibliographies on the war. It also made an effort to ascertain what was being done in the high schools of the State in the teachings of the war, and to make known the results of this investigation to the history teachers of the State. On April 8, 1918, a questionnaire submitting the following questions was sent to every high school in the State of Texas:

1. Is any attention being given to the study of the present conflict in the history classroom? If so, how much?
2. What effect, in general, has the war had upon (a) the content of each of the several history courses in your curriculum; and (b) upon the method of instruction?
3. What effect, if any, has the war had upon the students' knowledge of (a) geography, (b) government, (c) economics? Do the students know the location of the most important States involved in the war and their geographic relations? Are they sufficiently interested in the struggle to observe voluntarily the shifting battle lines?
4. What methods, if any, are followed in the study of the war?
5. What attention, if any, is given to (a) the causes of the entrance of the United States of America into the war, (b) the part which America ought to play, (c) the aims of the United States?

The answers received to this questionnaire showed a wholesome interest in the study of the war throughout the State. On the average one-sixth of the time allotted to history was consumed in the study of the war; its causes, events, and objects. Parallels and contrasts were made use of in each of the courses. Contemporary periodicals, bulletin boards, pictures, lantern slides, lectures, class discussions, and war maps were used in the instruction. The teachers were unanimous in stating that the war acted as a stimulant to the study of geography, economics, and government. The responsibility of the teacher in teaching good citizenship was emphasized by all.

With reference to the circulation of books and periodicals containing important historical information relating to the war, the extension loan library of the University of Texas made the following report for the year 1918:

Number of libraries loaned on war subjects, April, 1917, to November, 1918, 1,113.

Estimated number of people who used libraries, 5,500.

Most popular subjects, with the number of libraries loaned on each: Military training, 161; Red Cross, 54; women and the war, 37; school entertainments (patriotic), 35; patriotism, 34; United States and the war, 32; thrift, 31; causes of the war, 30; results of the war, 29; Russia and the War, 29; war, 28; food conservation, 28; conscription, 24; democracy, 24; Government control of railroads, 24.

Purposes for which libraries were used:

School work—

Supplementary reading.

Theme writing.

Debates.

School entertainments.

Club work.

Campaigns to raise money for the Red Cross, Liberty loans, and United war work.

For the information of individuals who desired to inform themselves on war topics.

Professors Barker, Bantel, Duncalf, Henderson, Hendrix, Penick, Riker, Royster, and others of the State university, delivered a series of lectures to the several classes of soldiers stationed at Camp Mabry. A number of the faculty also assisted in the dissemination of war information by serving as members of the four-minute speakers' organization.

The department of extension of the University of Texas cooperated with the Texas State Council of Defense through the interscholastic league, the division of home economics, and the division of information. A book entitled "Patriotic Selections," edited by Dr. E. D. Shurter, chairman of the Interscholastic League, and paid for by the State council of defense, was presented to every school belonging to the league. In presenting this book to the schools Dr. Shurter had this to say:

Let all the speakers in the declamation contests remember this, that you are commissioned by our Government to deliver to Texas audiences the patriotic messages from our leaders that are contained in this book; that whether you win in a particular contest or not you are performing a patriotic service that is officially recognized by our State council of defense; and, above all, that you are doing your part in helping America to win a World War which involves not only the freedom of our own country, but the freedom of republican government everywhere.

It is estimated that the boys and girls belonging to the Interscholastic League delivered patriotic selections from this book to Texas audiences aggregating 200,000 people in the various local, county, district, and State contests of the league. The division of home economics of the department of extension in cooperation with the State council of defense published bulletins for free distribution giving war-time recipes. In its annual report in 1918 the division of information, department of extension, University of Texas, had this to say:

The publicity committee of the Texas State Council of Defense has recognized this division of the university department of extension as the depository for visual instruction material used in its work, and has placed here \$1,000 worth of equipment to be circulated throughout the State. This equipment consists of 10 stereopticons, fitted not only with high-power mazda lamps, but also



with high-power acetylene gas lamps, so that they can be taken into any rural church or school and operated with a Prest-o-lite gas tank, such as can be obtained from a garage, and 2,000 lantern slides, which are to be divided into sets of about 50 each, and sent out with appropriate lecture material. Mr. Riker, of the school of history, is preparing a number of sets of slides with lecture material that will also circulate under the auspices of the Texas State council of defense. The first set deals with Germany's dream of empire, and traces the development of the German Empire from the little Duchy of Brandenburg to its present "Mittel-Europa" form.

Besides the equipment provided by the State council of defense for the spread of war information, this division itself purchased a great many lantern slides on such subjects as "Destroyed Art in Belgium and France," "The Story of the Flag," "The Bell and the Flag," and "America and Destiny." It also cooperated with the United States Food Administration in circulating lantern slides dealing with food problems of the war.

All freshmen and sophomores in both the University of Texas and the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas were required to take the course on "War aims and issues." Uniformity in subject matter and instruction at the University of Texas was obtained by means of a syllabus prepared by the department of history. The history department in every possible way cooperated with the National Board for Historical Service.

A great deal of progress has been made in the collection and classification for permanent preservation of the war records of the State of Texas. This work is being done by the Texas war records collection, an organization created by the board of regents of the University of Texas, October 22, 1918, under the supervision of Dr. Milton R. Gutsch, adjunct professor of history in the University of Texas. At that time an appropriation of \$7,500 for the collection of Texas records and of \$5,000 for the collection of general war records was made. The organization consists of the director and the central administrative staff, the county and community war records organizations, and the auxiliary agencies. The chairman of the county war records committee in each county is appointed by the director upon the recommendation of prominent citizens. The chairman then appoints his own committee. The Daughters of the Confederacy, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Federation of Women's Clubs are assisting in the collection of the county war records of the State.

The objects of the organization are: (1) The collection of all material relating to the contributions of Texas in men and resources, to the winning of the war; (2) The classification of such material; and (3) its preservation. The materials to be collected are: (a) General material, both American and foreign; (b) State materials; (c) county and community records.

(a) The general records consist of books relating to the war and reconstruction, about 1,800 to date; pamphlets, numbering about 1,600 acquired without cost to the university, circular letters having been sent to every organization or individual in this country known to have published any such material; a collection of posters and broadsides, consisting of approximately 1,500 different designs; 15,000 official United States war photographs; war and reconstruction files of several representative newspapers from Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Australia, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile; maps from the National Geographic Society, the Carta D'Italia, Rand McNally maps, the Kenyon war maps, and others; mementos, consisting of a small collection of tags, buttons, etc.

(b) State records now in the archives of the Texas war records collection are the council of defense; Liberty loan; food administration; State draft board, consisting of complete lists of men inducted into the service of the United States and classified by counties; Red Cross; Jewish Welfare Board; War Camp Community Service; war speakers' bureau; Boy Scouts, a portion of the Armenian and other relief organization records; a large number of camp photographs; and records from the United States Employment Bureau.

State records now being compiled for the university are war savings stamps and certificates of indebtedness; Y. M. C. A.; Y. W. C. A.; Knights of Columbus; Salvation Army; State government records; war industries records; and county and community records, including military and naval service records, records of the several war service organizations, and records of local conditions, most of which are to be collected by means of questionnaires by the county war records committees.

Nothing as yet has been done regarding the preparation of a complete history of the State's participation in the war. A number of local organization histories, however, have appeared. Among these the most important are "The History of the Nineteenth Division," and "Kelly Field and the Great World War." Other histories that have appeared are "Houston's Part in the World War," "Anderson County War History," "Leon County Boys in the World War," "Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense," and a number of histories of county chapters of the American Red Cross.

#### UTAH.

By A. L. NEFF, Department of History, University of Utah.

Often in history an inland State has displayed marked disinclination to comprehend its duties as measured in terms of the whole. The remoteness of Utah from menace of attack and invasion might lead one to suppose that it was more or less oblivious to national and inter-

national dangers. Quite the reverse was the situation. The quota assigned to Utah in the first Liberty loan was oversubscribed 42 per cent; the second 62 per cent; while the State finished fifth in the Nation and second in the twelfth federal reserve district in the third loan. Indeed every financial call was promptly and fully met. The State's record along lines of food production and conservation was truly enviable, while its man power went forth willingly to fight for the principles of democracy. Results of such character and magnitude indicate keen appreciation of international values and intense patriotism for America and the principles for which it stands.

The contribution of university men toward the creation of the splendid war spirit in Utah was considerable. The people looked to the institutions for higher learning, particularly to the department of history and political science for guidance in the interpretation of the issues of the hour. Courses were offered on "the causes of the war," "American ideas and ideals," and "issues of the war" for resident, extension, and correspondent students. Communications to the press from the pen of history men exerted influence in yet other fields. The State council of defense published a series of bulletins setting forth our war aims prepared by the staff of the University of Utah. Profs. George E. Fellows and Levi Edgar Young performed valuable service as platform speakers. Dr. John A. Widtsoe, president of the University of Utah, and Dr. E. G. Peterson, president of the Utah Agricultural College, were members of the State council for defense and gave unstintingly of their expert knowledge especially along lines of food production.

Dr. George Thomas, head of the department of economics, was the efficient director and organizer for the Students' Army Training Corps, which was becoming a promising feature of the University of Utah when the war closed. Similar activities were underway at the agricultural college and the Brigham Young University.

Compilations were prepared and published by the State council of defense during the war, and a comprehensive report of its activities gotten out on the termination of its war functions.

The collection and preservation of war materials and records is now the especial duty of the Utah Historical Society. The council of defense had begun the collection of war data, having appointed a war historian for that purpose; but the legislature which convened the winter of 1918-1919 designated the Utah Historical Society as the proper depository for all historical material. Furthermore, this legislature authorized the society to prepare a history of Utah's participation in the World War and appropriated the sum of \$5,000 for this purpose, the construction of which is now actively underway under the direction of Dr. A. L. Neff, assistant professor of history in the University of Utah.

## VIRGINIA.

By ARTHUR KYLE DAVIS, Chairman of the Virginia War History Commission.

The historical activities in the State of Virginia, in consequence of the Great War and in order to preserve source material for the future historian, included active work on the part of organizations and individuals.

In the war period there were formed throughout Virginia a number of local groups organized for the specific purpose of securing and preserving the full records of the several military organizations that went from the State. As examples of such associations may be mentioned the Richmond Blues' Association and the Richmond Howitzers' Association, composed largely of the relatives and friends of those organizations and formed for the double purpose of ministering to the needs of the members and of preserving the story and experiences of the unit as a whole and of the individual members.

In most of the counties of Virginia a similar work was undertaken with reference to the volunteers and drafted men represented in the service flag of each county. This work of helpfulness and of authentic recording of history was largely undertaken in the counties through some patriotic local society already in existence. The first specific impetus to this work was probably given by Sussex County, where the first county service flag was unveiled with proper ceremonies under the auspices of the Daughters of the Confederacy. This flag contained about one thousand stars, one or two of them being gold stars, and the address on "The Virginia Symmachy," made on this occasion by Mr. Arthur Kyle Davis, of Petersburg, contained the germ of the plan later adopted in the work of the Virginia War History Commission.

Most of the patriotic organizations of Virginia, such as the Colonial Dames, D. A. R., U. D. C., the S. A. R., as well as the social welfare organizations, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Elks and others, made active effort to secure the true records and experiences of their members in the service in addition to cooperating in all the patriotic undertakings of the time.

The plan of the service flag probably reached its fullest development in the case of the churches of all denominations. Throughout Virginia these service flags were displayed in the churches and in many cases the lists of the men in service were posted in the vestibules of the churches. In addition to this, many of the churches located near the camp areas kept records of their activities in connection with soldier welfare, while the various branches of the Red Cross throughout Virginia, both in the cities and in the counties, kept accounts of their relief work.

The Virginia schools and colleges kept the records of their members in military service and civilian service, as it was recognized from the beginning that the war record of each institution would be subjected to the jealous scrutiny of the members and alumni in the future. In many cases definite clipping bureaus were kept by the institutions with this end in view, so that a mass of material for the history of the participation in service and war work were secured during the war itself.

The newspapers of Virginia threw open their columns to all interesting war material and thousands of soldiers' letters and stories of courage and gallantry were published side by side with the daily record of military and civilian activities of war time.

In many of the counties patriotic individuals undertook the compilation and sometimes the publication of the records of the county soldiers. One of the earliest of these publications was the pamphlet issued by one of the contributors to the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, notably, the "Book of Honor," giving the story of all the Virginia soldiers that fell in war time. An example of work of this sort is "The Final Roster," a bound book of about 250 pages containing the story of the war work of Nottoway County and giving the service records of all the men from that county. This book was edited by Mr. W. W. Cobb, captain of infantry, United States Army. As a further example of such patriotic work may be mentioned a collection of material touching the history of Bath County, made and preserved by Dr. J. T. McAllister, which is being prepared by him for the files of the Virginia War History Commission and which he is now putting in shape for a definite history of Bath County in the war. Another notable instance of the collection of material for preservation is that of the city of Hopewell. Dr. Helen Love Bossieux collected a great mass of material which is now being used by her and her associates in the preparation of a history of that unique community.

The University of Virginia and Hampden-Sidney College were among the institutions that first put into print the definite records of their alumni in the World War. Through the *Alumni Bulletin*, a monthly publication, the University of Virginia collected historical data touching its alumni throughout the whole period of the war, and the work of preparing and compiling a definite account of the participation of the students and alumni was early under way. Hampden-Sidney College was perhaps first in publishing a full record of its activities in the *Hampden-Sidney Bulletin*. We hardly need explain that other colleges and institutions of the State did similar work in the collection of historical material touching their own men and women.

As another type of work in war history may be mentioned such contributions as that of Miss Genoa Swecker, entitled "Rockingham County's Contribution to the World War," published in the *Normal Bulletin* of October, 1919. This 10-page résumé of Rockingham County's activities is in the nature of a summary, rather than a detailed statement, but it will form the basis of a fuller treatise and shows the care with which the local records are being preserved.

The records of the State council of defense were carefully kept and from them the story of this great branch of war history is now being compiled for the war history commission by the secretary of the council, Col. Charles R. Keiley, who has placed scores of volumes of correspondence and publications of the State council of defense in the files of the Virginia War History Commission. This is, perhaps, the most important single gift that the commission has yet received.

The office of the adjutant general of Virginia, Gen. Jo. Lane Stern, has been one of the major agencies for the preservation of every available bit of historical material. General Stern, fully realizing Virginia's lack of records of the Civil War period, has been most efficient in securing and preserving material of permanent value for the Virginia records.

Individual soldiers of Virginia, both privates and officers, have been wise enough to keep the records of their experiences and impressions, sometimes in diaries and sometimes in printed books. Col. Ashby Williams, of Roanoke, has published a valuable and interesting record in "Experiences of the World War," a book of some 200 pages; and Col. Jennings C. Wise has produced several publications of real value, including his "History of the Eightieth Division." Among the diaries may be mentioned that of Capt. Lucien Cocke, of Roanoke, which has for some time been among the files of the Virginia War History Commission.

By teaching in the schools and colleges, by lectures, by circulation of periodicals, and by the contribution of articles in newspapers and magazines Virginia men and women endeavored to bring the issues and the facts before the people of the State.

The results of all war-history activities are being brought to a common center through the work of the Virginia War History Commission, a body of 18 members appointed by Governor Davis in January, 1919, and now working through 122 local branches throughout the State. Definite plans for the publication of a State history in 4 volumes of 600 pages each are well under way and valuable source material touching civilian and war activities is being stored both in the central archives in Richmond and in local archives throughout the cities and counties of the State.

The publications of the war history commission include seven issues of the Virginia War History Commission's News Letter and three pamphlets; No. 1, "Plans and Personnel of the Virginia War History Commission"; No. 2, "Virginia's War History"; and No. 3, "Virginia in the War."

The progress of this work of the commission may be summed up in a quotation from page 10 of "Virginia's War History":

The commission has to its credit at least 10 matters of great pith and moment that deserve the name of action, as follows:

1. *Virginia plan of history.*—The Virginia Commission originated and published the first specific and comprehensive plan by sections for a State history.

2. *Associate group of editors.*—It secured for its important task the patriotic cooperation of a large and distinguished group of associates.

3. *State plan of local branches.*—It organized throughout the State local branches or committees of three in every city and county.

4. *Booklets and news letters.*—It has published and distributed to the members one pamphlet on the general plan, one on community history, and seven News Letters.

5. *Outlines and questionnaires.*—It has prepared and furnished to the local branches outlines and questionnaires covering the varied phases of State activities.

6. *Monthly and quarterly meetings.*—Monthly meetings have been held for reports and discussion with inspirational meetings and addresses each quarter.

7. *Field agents and stated drives.*—Four field agents for the counties and one for the cities are now at work, and six special drives for data are under way.

8. *Military and civilian records.*—A goodly percentage of service records and many reports of civilian activities have been secured and are on file.

9. *Central and local archives.*—The commission has established central archives in Richmond and local archives in every city and county of the State.

10. *Appeal to all Virginians.*—Through the press, through letters and circulars, and through many addresses constant appeal is being made to all Virginians.

#### WASHINGTON.

This report was prepared from a letter by EDMOND S. MEANY, Department of History, University of Washington.

The members of the history department in the University of Washington were active in patriotic work throughout the war. Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, assistant professor of European history, was a lieutenant in the Intelligence Department with the American Army in France.

On that portion of the campus bordering on Lakes Union and Washington the Government maintained a naval training camp, the numbers rising from 300 to 2,000. Lectures were in demand there.

A trip of three hours reached Camp Lewis, one of the Government's larger cantonments. Through the Y. M. C. A. and the Knights of Columbus regular courses of lectures were given by the members of the history department.

When the National Board for Historical Service undertook to give six illustrated lectures before all the troops in training, early in 1918, the department took over the work for Camp Lewis and purchased an independent set of slides for that purpose. In giving the lectures the members of the department were assisted by Prof. Walter S. Davis of the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma; Mr. O. B. Sperlin, of the Stadium High School, Tacoma; and Mr. S. E. Fleming, of the Franklin High School, Seattle. J. N. Bowman, associate professor of European history, University of Washington, was especially successful in this and similar work at Camp Lewis. He subsequently left the University and is still engaged in the Government's placement work among returned soldiers and sailors.

Various communities of the State and leaders of Liberty bond selling drives made much use of the history men of the university. Oliver H. Richardson, professor of European history, was especially active with community lectures.

Prof. Edmond S. Meany supervised the war aims course for the Students' Army Training Corps. Those giving the lectures were Prof. Oliver H. Richardson, Prof. Richard F. Scholz, Associate Prof. Edmond McMahon, of the history department, and Dean Stephen I. Miller, Jr., of the College of Business Administration.

One of the younger men, Victor J. Farrar, research assistant in Northwestern history, served 18 months as sergeant first class with Base Hospital 50, in France.

When the appeal came from the National Board for Historical Service to organize the State for the preservation of historical records of the war, it was decided to organize Washington into county units. This work, under the direction of Professor Meany, was completed and the reports show that most of the 39 counties were successful in accumulating materials for deposit in the most central library of each.

#### WEST VIRGINIA.

By OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD, Department of History and Political Science, West Virginia University.

West Virginia did not provide for a war history commission, and consequently very little has been done throughout the State in collecting records. The legislature made provision for the county clerks to secure the war records of the men from their counties, but, apparently, few of them made any effort to carry out the provision. Mr. W. W. Smith, of Huntington, compiled a record for Cabell County, which has been published and is a very creditable piece of work. A similar record for Ohio County has been compiled.

Mr. Clifford R. Myers, State historian and archivist, has been energetically collecting relics and papers of the war. However, he



is considerably handicapped in this work, owing to the fact that the restricted quarters of the department of archives and history at Charleston do not afford ample housing space for all the relics and documents that he can collect. The library of West Virginia University has also kept complete files of Government publications and pamphlets, and the publications of the American Association for International Conciliation, the National Security League, and other patriotic organizations.

The adjutant general's office has received from the war department a card index record of all the men in the service who gave West Virginia as their place of residence, which is now being prepared for publication. Gov. Cornwell has had printed a complete record of the draft. It includes the name, place, and serial number of each man. The old National Guard records are in the adjutant general's office. From these a fairly complete record of the West Virginians who took part in the war can be compiled. Of course in cases where the man enlisted in another State and gave his place of enlistment as his residence, the record will credit him to the place of enlistment. We may lose many men in that way, yet at the same time some will be gained.

The war gave a great impetus to historical instruction in West Virginia. A great many of the addresses and short speeches made in connection with the various patriotic drives were more or less historical in character. These addresses were made by professors in the university and denominational colleges, teachers and superintendents in the normal and high schools, lawyers, and public-spirited men representing all trades and professions. These speeches were delivered at high school commencements, educational and religious meetings, and on practically all public occasions. These addresses were generally if not always in the nature of propaganda; but despite this fact a good deal of sound historical information was spread abroad through these agencies. Of the agencies of this character, the most effective was the organization of the Four Minute Men. These speakers were heard in every motion-picture theater and every schoolhouse in the State.

So far as I know, few books dealing with the war have been written by West Virginians. The best account of the part played by West Virginia in the war is found in the "West Virginia Legislative Handbook and Manual and Official Register for 1918 and 1919," prepared by John T. Harris. In the edition for 1918 there are 70 pages devoted to West Virginia's activities in the war. This includes a short but valuable account of West Virginia's share in the conflict prepared by the late Wilson M. Foulk, former State historian and archivist; an honor roll giving the names of West Virginians who were killed or died in action, as well as all who were

missing, taken prisoners, or wounded; and an account, more detailed, of all of the various war and charity organizations. These latter accounts were prepared by the chairmen or other prominent members of those organizations and are quite valuable. They give lists of names and important statistics. They are, however, incomplete. The Handbook for 1919 devotes 20 chapters to war activities. It discusses more completely subjects treated in the 1918 edition and also contains much new material.

One other book might be mentioned—"The Immediate Causes of the Great War," by Oliver Perry Chitwood, professor of European history, West Virginia University, 1917. Revised and enlarged 1918, T. Y. Crowell Co., New York. This work gives a brief survey of the events of recent European history that preceded and led up to the outbreak in 1914; a fuller account of the diplomatic negotiations of the twelve days; and the reasons for America's entrance into the conflict.

While West Virginians were too busy to write many books during the war, there were some important historical articles published by them. Three of the professors of the department of history of the State University published in the West Virginia School Journal and Educator historical articles dealing with some phases of the war. But probably the most important articles written during the war were those published by Dr. J. M. Callahan, head of the department of history and dean of the college of arts and sciences of the university. He wrote a series of five articles for the Foreign Press Bureau of the Committee on Public Information for publication in the Latin American press. The object of these articles was to show to the South American peoples the bases of our foreign policy, to allay any feeling that they might have against the United States, and to create a better feeling that would lead to a closer cooperation in the war and foreign relations. Several of the articles prepared by Dean Callahan for the "Encyclopedia Americana" (new edition) also had a bearing on the war. Of these, special mention should be made of one published about 1918 giving a survey of our diplomatic relations with Germany. Dean Callahan also gave a series of lectures on problems of international law and international relations at the University of Colorado in the summer of 1918.

A course in current European history was given each semester during the war in nearly all of the high schools, West Virginia Wesleyan College, Davis-Elkins College, Bethany College, the various normal schools, and the university. In the university this was a popular course open to freshmen, both men and women. War history was required of all students in Davis-Elkins College. This course was also well attended in West Virginia Wesleyan College,

the average attendance for the year being about 50. The current history or war-history course usually dealt with the current events of the war and the more important facts in recent European history that constituted the background of the war. Besides, every course in history was linked up with the war so far as possible.

In addition to the above-mentioned courses, offered to all students, the war-issues course was, of course, given to all Students' Army Training Corps students. The institutions at which these students were enrolled were West Virginia Wesleyan College, Davis-Elkins College, and the university. In these, instruction was given as far as practicable in accordance with the suggestions and directions issued by the War Department. There were two classes of these students—the vocational (section B) and the regular college students (section A). About 931 of the former class were stationed at West Virginia University in the summer and autumn of 1918. They were lectured to once a week for a period of about 8 weeks for one class and 12 weeks for another. These lectures were given by instructors in the department of history of the university. They dealt with the political and economic conditions of Europe just prior to 1914 and their relation to the outbreak of the war; gave a brief survey of some of the leading events that created the enmities and paved the way for the great struggle; and outlined briefly the diplomatic negotiations that immediately preceded the outbreak.

Students of section B were divided into two classes—those who had not had elementary courses in English composition and those who had. To the former a course of three hours per week, called war English, was given by the departments of English and history. One period was devoted to lectures on history and quizzes on assigned historical readings; the other two periods were given over to English composition. The subject material for the themes was taken from the lectures and assigned readings in history. The second class were required to take three hours a week in war issues. This course was under the entire charge of the history department. It dealt with the historical background of the war, the diplomatic alignments of the European powers, the indirect and direct causes of the war, etc. The results accomplished for both classes of students were, however, very unsatisfactory, owing to the precedence accorded military training.

#### WISCONSIN.

From the reports of the executive committee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the years 1918 and 1919.

1918. From the beginning of the war in Europe in the summer of 1914 the several departments of the society's working staff have labored to the limit of their ingenuity and ability to collect for

permanent preservation the records concerning the war that were being currently produced and, for the most part, currently consigned to oblivion. When the United States entered the arena of warfare it became obvious that some special administrative machinery must be devised if the work of collection of war materials was to be continued on anything like an adequate scale. Accordingly the matter was brought to the attention of the State council of defense, and early in the year 1918 Chairman Swenson responded to the representations that had been made on the subject by appointing a war history commission of the State council (composed of M. M. Quaife, chairman, Madison; Wm. W. Bartlett, Eau Claire; Carl Russell Fish, Madison; J. H. A. Lacher, Waukesha; W. N. Parker, Madison; A. H. Sanford, La Crosse, and Capt. H. A. Whipple, Waterloo), charged with the general duty of seeing that the records of Wisconsin's participation in the great war were gathered for permanent preservation.

In view of the nature of this task, and further of the identity of personnel as between the war history commission and the society (the superintendent being the chairman of the commission and all its members but one being prominently identified with the historical society) it was taken for granted that the society would cooperate to every reasonable extent with the commission in the prosecution of its work. The plan of operations adopted by the commission contemplated the organization of war history committees in the several counties of the State, each of which should undertake to collect the personal and other records of the county's participation in the war, the courthouse or some centrally located library being made the depository of the collection. To initiate and direct the county organizations the services of Dr. Oliver, of the society's research staff, were loaned to the commission for a period of several months, together with such stenographic and other assistance as was needed.

The work of organization was pursued with vigor and enthusiasm by Dr. Oliver during the spring and early summer, with results, on the whole, highly gratifying to the commission. Unfortunately for its further prosecution, however, Dr. Oliver resigned in August to enter the Army, and became henceforth a maker rather than a collector of war records. To the present time (Oct. 24) no successor has been provided, the work of central supervision being carried on as far as practicable by the superintendent from the society's office in Madison. Arrangements have been made, meanwhile, to have Mr. A. O. Barton, of Madison, take up the work beginning November 1. Under his supervision it is expected the results of the good beginning made in the early months of the commission's activities will be conserved and further extended. With a view to prosecuting

the collection of historical records and war museum objects abroad as well as at home, the commission has invoked the approval and support of the State council of defense and of the governor that funds and authority necessary for the sending of an agent abroad may be provided. At the time of making this report the hearty support of the State council and of the governor have been enlisted for the project. Unless the Federal authorities shall withhold consent it seems probable, therefore, that the mission will be undertaken.

Another war drive, in the prosecution of which the historical society is intimately interested, may receive appropriate mention here. The field of European history is assigned, by mutual agreement, to the university library. Because of its character that library does not cultivate any particular field intensively, as does the historical library the relatively limited one marked out for it. Hence, if there was to be assembled at Madison a thoroughgoing collection of materials pertaining to the great war on other than its American side, some special provision for its upbuilding was required. Such provision was made by the university early in the year. A special appropriation of \$5,000 annually was made for the development of a war collection and Dr. A. C. Tilton, formerly of the historical library staff, but in more recent years of the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress, was engaged as curator. Through the special committee of the university (of which the superintendent of the society was made a member) the combined resources of the several departments of the university and of the historical society are coordinated under Dr. Tilton's oversight, with a view to providing on the European side of the war a collection of historical materials comparable to that which the society is developing in the American field.

1919. The preceding report told the story down to the latter part of October, 1918, of the organization and work of the war history committee of the State council of defense of which the superintendent was chairman, and the funds and direction of which were supplied by the State Historical Society. From November 1, 1918, to August 1 of the present year Mr. A. O. Barton, of Madison, was employed by the society in the capacity of director of the war history committee. This work he carried on with enthusiasm and success, and on laying it down was able to render the gratifying report which we present below. Since the historical society had taken up this work as the most appropriate agency for meeting a war emergency, it was felt that the legislature of 1919 should indicate its approval of the work by making regular and adequate provision for its continuance, lacking which, the work would necessarily be terminated. Accordingly the chairman of the war history committee drafted a bill providing for a Wisconsin War History Commission,

which with important modifications was enacted into law. The law creates a nonsalaried war history commission of six members (the governor, the adjutant general, the superintendent of this society, and three citizens appointed by the governor) to which the duty of collecting the materials and compiling a history of Wisconsin's part in the World War is intrusted. For this work an appropriation of \$10,000 annually is made, and in addition a special appropriation of \$25,000 for the purpose of publishing an official history of the Thirty-second Division. This commission organized in mid-October, Gen. Charles King, of Milwaukee, being made chairman and John G. Gregory, of Milwaukee, secretary. To it, therefore, the further direction of the war history drive is committed. We can not refrain, in concluding, from publicly thanking the hundreds of individuals, some of whose names appear below, for the unpaid and public-spirited cooperation they afforded, and in large part are still affording, the war history committee (henceforth the new war history commission) in securing the contemporary records of Wisconsin's part in the World War. A most gratifying spectacle of popular participation on an extensive scale in the altruistic work of saving our historical records for the instruction and benefit of posterity has been afforded. The report of Mr. Barton upon the status of the work, when he laid it down, follows:

The war history work may be said to be in a satisfactory condition in the great majority of counties. While a number of counties have reported that they have nearly completed their records, none have entirely ceased work and the greater number are still some distance from their goal. This is due largely to the fact that many of the State's troops have but recently returned or are still abroad.

It is gratifying to note that in most of the counties having the larger cities, such as Superior, Racine, Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Kenosha, Green Bay, La Crosse, Janesville, Appleton, Eau Claire, Manitowoc, and Stevens Point, the work fell into capable and interested hands. In all these counties excellent results have been obtained. Perhaps the larger counties with the best records are Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Eau Claire, Outagamie, Racine, Kenosha, and Brown; among the smaller Adams, Clark, Waukesha, Taylor, Dunn, Crawford, Waushara, and Green Lake show the best reports. In the two largest counties, Milwaukee and Winnebago, the progress has been less; however, in both these counties the war mothers have come forward with substantial aid of much promise. A half dozen counties have little to show as yet. Among these are Juneau, Dodge, Iowa, Oconto, and Waupaca. Juneau and Iowa will probably receive good attention soon. Some county councils of defense made appropriations for the history work; others gave neither funds nor encouragement. The correspondence files will give further light on the status of the individual counties.

In a number of counties war histories and albums are in course of publication, chiefly by outside concerns. Among such counties may be mentioned Brown, Columbia, Burnett, Dunn, Door, Iowa, Crawford, Polk, Rusk, St. Croix, Oneida, Marquette, Waushara, and Green Lake. It is also probable that histories will be written by local historians in the counties of Kenosha, Green,

Racine, Lafayette, Trempealeau, and Ozaukee. The historians, acting or prospective, are: Brown, Chicago publishers; Door, H. R. Holand, Ephraim; Columbia, J. E. Jones, former editor, Portage; Marquette, C. H. Barry, editor, Montello; Waushara and Green Lake, R. S. Starks, editor, Berlin; Crawford, Lyman Howe, editor, Prairie du Chien; Polk, editor, Luck Enterprise, Luck; Rusk, D. W. Maloney, editor, Ladysmith; Burnett, E. Huth, editor, Grantsburg; Iowa, Granville Trace, editor, Dodgeville; St. Croix, F. A. R. Van Meter, editor, New Richmond; Dunn, M. C. Douglass, editor, Menomonie; Kenosha, Miss Cathie McNamara, Kenosha; Racine, E. W. Leach, Racine; Green, C. H. Dietz, teacher, Monroe; Lafayette, P. H. Conley, Darlington; Trempealeau, Judge H. A. Anderson, Whitehall; Ozaukee, Rev. T. A. Boerner, Port Washington, Oneida.

Your retiring director visited 50 of the 71 counties and met the chairman of a number of others. The counties not visited were chiefly those in the far northern part of the State or such as seemed so well organized as to need less attention.

Several hundred pictures have been received from a number of counties, including Washington, Sauk, Dane, Trempealeau, Milwaukee, Jefferson, Dunn, Eau Claire, and Green; more are promised from other counties. These should be filed. Final reports from several State activities have been received, including council of defense, fuel administration, county agents, physicians, naval enlistments for the State, etc.

In a number of counties the war mothers have enlisted to collect the military biographies, letters, and pictures; they are now at work in Dane, Milwaukee, Winnebago, Langlade, Jefferson, Polk, and perhaps other counties.

#### WYOMING.

By DOROTHY HALE, Assistant State Historian.

Inasmuch as the Wyoming Historical Department was not created until February, 1919, and the State historian did not take up her activities until March of that year, there are not many of the points as outlined in which the department took active part. During the past year a history of the Sixty-sixth Field Artillery Brigade was published and a copy of the same donated to the files of the department. The One hundred and forty-eighth Field Artillery was a part of this brigade and the artillery was partly made up of the Third Wyoming Infantry. Thus it records the war history of many Wyoming men.

The Wyoming Historical Department is making every effort possible to secure the records of her men. Prior to the organization of the department the war history committee of the Wyoming State council of national defense began collecting the war records of the men of Wyoming. A chairman was appointed in each county, who in turn appointed committeemen for the various localities. In addition to this the war history committee began the collection of official blanks, instructions, and orders relating to such matters as the draft, Liberty loans and food administration; the records of, semiofficial or unofficial war agencies; posters, programs, badges,

etc.; all pamphlets issued by national, State, and local agencies to disseminate general information; local military statistics, such as muster rolls, draft records, etc.; photographic material illustrating war activities; price lists, advertisements, or any other material throwing light on the economic or industrial effects of the war; data showing the changes of our educational programs and institutions to meet the emergency; records of honor families having three, four, or five sons in the war; record lists of Wyoming men who were decorated or commended for bravery; records of Wyoming men and women who served with the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., or other war relief agencies; newspapers files, letters, and diaries of soldiers and sailors or of war workers; all correspondence of war relief societies; and relics which can be displayed in war museums. It desired also to secure a complete and detailed history of each county's participation in each of the war's activities.

Upon its organization the historical department took over this work. At the present time it has nearly completed an alphabetical card index, by counties, of the 13,000 men who served in the late war. Plans are underway to make a complete alphabetical record of the men and a record of all casualties. The records now on file are not as complete and as accurate as desired, but until funds are appropriated which will enable more clerical aid and permit us to get into closer touch with the counties this cannot be accomplished. The State library has a complete file of the Trench and Camp, the publication at Camp Lewis, the cantonment to which the Wyoming drafted men were sent.

No definite steps have been taken to prepare a history other than to gather the material above mentioned and obtain the pictures of the men and the Wyoming organizations in the late war.

In the report of the publicity department of the State council for national defense, the following statement is made:

Weekly news letters were sent to the 75 State newspapers and 40 to publicity departments of other State councils and offices at Washington. Stories were sent out urging war gardens and extensive publicity was given on all drives and organization activities with gratifying results. The report closes in saying: "Without the publicity which the press has generously given to all the departments of war work, the wonderful results which Wyoming has achieved would not have been possible."

Throughout the work of the Four-Minute Men splendid cooperation was received from the Wyoming State Council for National Defense and the expenses of the State Director's office were handled by them. At no time did the State have less than 22 chairmen and the maximum number was 27, while 200 men lent their aid in making addresses.





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V. ROMAN POLICY IN ARMENIA AND TRANSCAUCASIA AND  
ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

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By DAVID MAGIE,  
*Princeton University.*

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## ROMAN POLICY IN ARMENIA AND TRANSCAUCASIA, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

By DAVID MAGIE.

The relations between Rome and the kingdom of Armenia had their origin in the defeat administered by the Scipio brothers to Antiochus the Great in the battle of Magnesia. In the ensuing break-up of the western portion of the Seleucid Empire the satraps of the districts comprising the high table-land of Armenia and the valley of the river Aras made submission to the Romans and received from them the title of King.<sup>1</sup>

Artaxias, thus constituted king of the eastern section, enlarged his kingdom by the annexation of the surrounding districts, until it embraced most of the Armenian table-land. His capital was Artaxata, near the modern Erivan, where the Aras Valley broadens out into the plain which modern Armenians hold to be the cradle of the human race.

It was, however, Artaxias's descendant, Tigranes the Great, who caused Rome to tighten her hold on Armenia. As a result of his imperialistic ambitions and his alliance with his father-in-law, Mithradates of Pontus, he came into conflict with the Romans. After a crushing defeat at the hands of Pompey he was forced to admit a Roman garrison into Artaxata and to make submission to the Roman general, placing his crown in Pompey's hands, to receive it again from him as the gift of Rome. From this time on Armenia was, by turns, a vassal kingdom under a scion of the house of Artaxias or a Romanized princeling from some petty kingdom of western Asia, a Roman client state under a younger son or brother of the King of Parthia, a province of the Empire, and again a Roman protectorate ruled by a Parthian.

A relationship, moreover, not very dissimilar, was developed between Rome and the kingdoms northeast of Armenia—Iberia, corresponding to the region about the modern Tiflis, and Albania, including the basin of the lower Kur as far as the Caspian Sea. These districts also were overrun by Pompey. He defeated their kings, forced them to give hostages and sue for peace,<sup>2</sup> and displayed their

<sup>1</sup> Strab. XI., pp. 528, 531f.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Pomp., 34-36; Dio XXXVII, 2-5.

names in his triumphal procession in the list of the monarchs whom he had conquered.<sup>3</sup> For a time, at any rate, he held the strongholds of Armastica and Seusamora near Tiflis, which command not only the valley of the Kur but also the Pass of Dariel.<sup>4</sup>

The policy of Pompey was continued by Antony. Artavasdes, the son and successor of Tigranes, was ordered to furnish troops for Antony's Parthian campaign in 36, and P. Canidius Crassus occupied once more the strongholds south of the Caucasus and forced the kings of Iberia and Albania to become so-called allies of Rome.<sup>5</sup>

With the accession of Artavasdes's son, Artaxes, begins the long series of Roman and Parthian intrigues that play so great a part in the story of Roman policy in Armenia. Renouncing all allegiance to Rome, Artaxes formed an alliance with the Parthian monarch, Phraates, and ruled Armenia under Parthian suzerainty. Roman intrigue, however, was not inactive. Phraates was persuaded to abandon Rome's rebellious vassal, and the pro-Roman faction in Armenia was impelled to murder Artaxes and send a deputation to Augustus, requesting that Artaxes's brother, Tigranes, then a captive in Rome, be sent to rule in the kingdom of his ancestors.<sup>6</sup>

Tigranes, accordingly, was crowned king at Artaxata in 20 B. C. The act of coronation was performed by Tiberius Claudius Nero, stepson of Augustus, and Roman troops were present at the ceremony.<sup>7</sup>

So Roman suzerainty over Armenia was established, and at Rome coins were struck bearing the legend *Armenia Capta*.<sup>8</sup>

The reign of Augustus shows a series of determined, and sometimes almost desperate, attempts to retain this suzerainty. A succession of petty princes, first from the Armenian royal house, then, when this became extinct, from the neighboring principalities of Media Atropatene and Cappadocia were proclaimed kings of Armenia by the grace of Rome. Meanwhile the Parthian monarchs spared no effort to stir up trouble for the Roman vassal and to annex Armenia to the Parthian Empire. The ceremony of investiture performed by Tiberius in 20 B. C. was repeated by Gaius, the grandson of Augustus, in 1 A. D., acting as the special representative of the Roman Emperor. But toward the end of Augustus's reign the Roman claimant was driven from Armenia, and all the efforts to establish a Roman vassal king seemed to have been made in vain.

In Transcaucasia, on the other hand, the diplomacy of Augustus produced better results. The alliances that had been imposed by

<sup>3</sup> Applan. Mithradatica, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. XI, p. 501; Dio XXXVII, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. XI, p. 501; Plutarch, Anton, 34; Dio XLIX, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Mon. Ancyranum, V, 24; Tacitus, Annals, II, 3; Dio LIV, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Mon. Ancyranum, V, 24-28; Suetonius, Tib., 9; Tacitus, Ann. II, 3; Dio LIV, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Eckhel, Doctrina Numorum, VI, p. 98.

Canidius Crassus upon the princes of Iberia and Albania were perpetuated, and these monarchs were included by Augustus in the list of those who sought his friendship.<sup>9</sup>

The policy of holding Armenia in vassalage was continued with more success by Tiberius. Zeno, a prince of Pontus, was crowned by Germanicus at Artaxata as vassal king of Armenia,<sup>10</sup> and after his death, about 35 A. D., the kingdom was conferred on Mithradates, brother of Rome's ally, the King of Iberia.<sup>11</sup> During the reign of Zeno the Parthians had made no move against Armenia, but at his death Artabanus III of Parthia seized the kingdom and proclaimed as king, first, his oldest son Arsaces; then, after his assassination by Mithradates, a younger son, Orodes.<sup>12</sup> Finally, however, he was forced to recognize Mithradates as king, Armenia again became a vassal state of Rome, and a Roman garrison was quartered near Artaxata.<sup>13</sup>

Rome's suzerainty, however, did not last for long. Mithradates was overthrown by his nephew,<sup>14</sup> and the Parthian monarch, Vologaeses I claimed Armenia for his brother Tiridates. The result was a war with Rome. The government of Nero despatched Domitius Corbulo to Armenia. The table-land was invaded and Artaxata captured. Another Romanized princeling, one Tigranes, was established as king and the Roman garrison returned to Gorneae.<sup>15</sup> The new claimant, however, did not remain in his kingdom for long. Vologaeses, roused by an unprovoked attack on the part of Tigranes, again proclaimed his brother Tiridates king of Armenia.<sup>16</sup> Corbulo, evidently not deeming Tigranes worth the price of a Parthian war, entered into a series of negotiations looking to a diplomatic solution of the Armenian question. After many delays and in spite of a defeat administered by Vologaeses to Corbulo's colleague Paetus, governor of Cappadocia, it was finally arranged that Tiridates the Parthian should be king of Armenia, but as the vassal of Rome. As the result of this agreement Tiridates laid down his crown before the statue of Nero in the Roman camp and journeyed to Rome to receive it again from the Emperor himself.<sup>17</sup>

So the policy of Augustus was replaced by a new solution of the Armenia question—a compromise between Roman and Parthian. A Parthian prince ruled in Artaxata, but as Rome's vassal, and only

<sup>9</sup> Mon. Ancy., V, 53.

<sup>10</sup> Tacitus, Ann., II, 56; Strab., XII, p. 556.

<sup>11</sup> Tacitus, Ann., VI, 32-33; Dio LVIII, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Tacitus, Ann., VI, 33; Dio LVIII, 26; Josephus, Ant. Jud., XVIII, 2. 4.

<sup>13</sup> In the fortress of Gorneae; Tacitus, Ann., XII, 45; cf. Strab., XI, p. 529. It was doubtless on the Garni River, a tributary of the Aras.

<sup>14</sup> Tacitus, Ann., XII, 44-49.

<sup>15</sup> Tacitus, Ann., XIII, 6-8, 39-41; XIV, 23-26; Dio LXI, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Tacitus, Ann., XV, 1-2; Dio LXII, 20.

<sup>17</sup> Tacitus, Ann., XV, 24-31; Dio LXII, 22-23.

after recognition by the Roman Emperor. This policy was maintained by the Flavian Emperors, who thus kept a peaceful hold on Armenia. Iberia, too, they held in control by a garrison at Armastica.<sup>18</sup>

Not until toward the end of Trajan's reign was there any change of policy. Then, in answer to an attempt on the part of the Parthian monarch to set up a king in Armenia in opposition to Rome, Trajan declared war, invaded the table-land, ordered the Parthian claimant to leave the country, and declared Armenia a Roman province.

This policy of outright annexation was reversed by Hadrian. Once more Armenia received a Parthian as king, but under the supremacy of Rome, and the compromise begun by Corbulo under Nero was continued through the second century. Even the war waged by Lucius Verus and his generals against the Parthians, in which Armenia was overrun by both Roman and Parthian and Artaxata destroyed, did not ultimately change the policy of Rome. A Roman garrison was maintained at the new capital, Valarshapat (now Etchmiadzin),<sup>19</sup> built by a Roman general to replace the destroyed Artaxata. Roman garrisons, too, were stationed at the eastern end of the Black Sea, and the kings of Iberia and Albania were kept in a position of dependence.

Amid the various changes in the policy pursued by Rome in Armenia, one principle stands out clearly: Armenia must be under Roman control and its king might rule only by the grace of Rome. In Transcaucasia a similar principle was followed. The King of Iberia was kept in close relationship, termed an alliance, but actually a position of dependence and even vassalage. A Roman garrison was maintained in the Plain of Erivan; and in Iberia Rome held the fortress of Armastica, commanding both the valley of the Kur and the Pass of Dariel.

The question is inevitable: Why this insistence on the control of these regions—the table-land of Armenia and the valleys of the Aras and the Kur? Why dispatch so many generals and so many armies to maintain this supremacy?

The reason is not to be found in the natural wealth of the country. Alexander, indeed, was told of gold mines in the Armenian mountains.<sup>20</sup> But he was unsuccessful in his quest of the precious metal, and there is no evidence that any later search was made. The copper deposits in the mountains between the valley of the Aras and the basin of the lower Kur seem to have been altogether unknown in antiquity. And, though the plains of Armenia are rich and fertile,

<sup>18</sup> According to an inscription found there of 75 A. D.; see *C. I. L.*, III, 8052, and *Cagnat, Inscr. Graec. ad Res Rom. pert.* III, 133.

<sup>19</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 8052.

<sup>20</sup> *Strab.*, XI, p. 529.

no attempt was made to use them as a grain-producing area for the Roman world.

Nor was the aim of the Romans merely the maintenance of prestige in the East. It was not the method of Rome to squander resources of men and money merely for the maintenance of prestige, as the conservative policy on the Rhine and Danube frontiers sufficiently attests.

Nor, on the other hand, was the reason one of military necessity. Mommsen, it is true, finds an explanation in the statement that Armenia "was by its position, in a military point of view, a sally port for each of the great powers (Rome and Parthia) into the territory of the other,"<sup>21</sup> and this theory has found wide acceptance. It does not, however, accord with practice. Of all the Roman attacks on the Parthians or the Persian Sassanids, two only were conducted by the route leading across the Armenian plateau and thence by the Aras into Persian Azerbaidjan—that of Antony in 36 B. C., and that of Severus Alexander in 232 A. D., and both of these were utter failures. All other invading Roman armies advanced against Ctesiphon by way of northern Mesopotamia. On the other hand, the Parthians never entered Roman territory by way of the Armenian plateau and the upper Euphrates, but always by the routes south of Malatia and the great gorge. Clearly, Armenia was little used as a "sally port."

It is perhaps not without significance that Trajan, after the acquisition of the new provinces of Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia, established customhouses on the Euphrates and the Tigris.<sup>22</sup> It is perhaps not an unsafe assumption that a similar customhouse was maintained on the Aras at the bridge near Artaxata. However this may be, this bridge was a thoroughfare, the importance of which was indeed great. To the west of it extended the important highway leading across the table-land of Armenia to Erzerum and Ilidja on the upper Euphrates, thence to Satala on the upper Kelkit Irmak, and so northward to Trebizond or westward to Asia Minor. This was the road that Corbulo used in order to send to his armies supplies from the Black Sea,<sup>23</sup> and this was the route by which Trajan invaded Armenia in 114.<sup>24</sup> Southeastward from Artaxata the great highway led down the valley of Aras, the route of the modern railway.<sup>25</sup> One branch followed the course of the river to the Caspian, another went to Ecbatana-Hamadan, whence led the caravan road through the Caspian Gates to India and China.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Fronto, *Princ. Hist.*, p. 209 N, cited by Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, p. 75.

<sup>23</sup> *Tac. Ann.*, XIII, 39.1.

<sup>24</sup> *Dio-Xiphil.*, LXVIII, 18-19.

<sup>25</sup> *Tab. Peut.*, Sec. X; Miller, *K. Itineraria Rom.*, p. 654f.

<sup>26</sup> *Tab. Peut.*, Sec. XI; Miller, *K. Itin. Rom.*, pp. 781f and 792f.



Between Ecbatana and the western world only two routes were possible, for the Hakkiari and Zagros Mountains are an effective barrier between the Iranian plateau and the basin of the Tigris. Of these, one led over the Zagros Pass back of Khanikin and along the upper course of the Diala River.<sup>26\*</sup> This was the route of Alexander. The other was the road along the Aras and through Armenia. The former must remain under Parthian control, for none but a Trajan or a Severus tried to hold the Tigris basin. The latter, on the other hand, would be controlled by the power that held Artaxata and the table-land to the west. The commercial and financial advantages of the control of the Plain of Erivan and of the Armenian plateau are evident.

This highway, however, the Romans could never hope to possess. So long as the Parthians held Ecbatana, they could divert traffic to the Khanikin route and away from the road which led to Artaxata. Iberia, on the other hand, afforded another means of communication with the East, a trade route undisturbed by Parthian or Persian. As early as the beginning of the third century B. C., Patrocles, acting under orders from Antiochus I, explored the Caspian Sea and reported the existence of an important trade route leading from northern India to the River Oxus, down the river by ship, and so into the Caspian Sea, either through a channel of the Oxus flowing into the Caspian, or from the river to the sea by some overland route.<sup>27</sup>

Wares were then shipped across the Caspian and up the Kur to the head of navigation. From this point they were carried via Tiflis and Armastica to the Black Sea.<sup>28</sup> This route was investigated also by Pompey, the originator of the policy of Roman control of Armenia and Iberia. His exploring party maintained that in seven days a caravan could travel from India to a point on a navigable tributary of the Oxus. From here wares could be sent by ship to the Caspian and thence up the Kur to a point distant only five days' journey from the Black Sea.<sup>29</sup>

The control of Iberia, therefore, assured the control of the western end of the trade route which led from the Black Sea through Transcaucasia to the mouth of the Kur, thence by way of the Caspian to the upper Oxus. From the valley of the upper Oxus, a road led via Merv across the Paropamisus Range to Herat,<sup>30</sup> corresponding

<sup>26\*</sup> Tab. Peutling, Sec. X; Miller, K. Itin. Rom., p. 791f.

<sup>27</sup> The ancient writers seem to have believed that the Oxus flowed into the Caspian, and until recently a depression between the lower course of the river and the Caspian Sea was regarded as the old bed of the Oxus. Now, however, it is more generally believed that the Caspian in antiquity extended much farther eastward than at present, and it is not impossible that the Oxus emptied into the eastern extension. For a summary of the question see P. Kropotkin, *Geogr. Journal*, XII (1898), p. 306-310.

<sup>28</sup> Strab. XI, p. 508; cf. Pliny, N. H., VI, 58.

<sup>29</sup> Pliny, N. H., VI, 52.

<sup>30</sup> Tab. Peutling, Sec. XI; Miller, K. Itin. Rom., p. 794f.

presumably to the modern route. The short cut to India, however, led from the Oxus across the range of the Hindu Kush, probably by the Khawak Pass,<sup>31</sup> to Alexandria in the Hindu Kush, situated, according to Pliny,<sup>32</sup> 50 miles from Ortospa, the modern Kabul. Ortospa was the junction of the roads leading from Herat, from Bactra, and from India.<sup>33</sup> From Alexandria in the Hindu Kush and from Ortospa, well-defined routes led to the basin of the Indus.<sup>34</sup>

The Plain of the Oxus was also the starting point of the trade route to China, over which passed the caravans that brought silk to the western world.<sup>35</sup> In the first century B. C. Bactra became a great silk market. The caravan routes from central China converged at Kashgar in the northeastern corner of Chinese Turkestan. From here the China trade crossed the mountains of Pamir past the Lithinos Pyrgos, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>36</sup> and thence via Faizabad to the Oxus.

Thus the Oxus valley was a great trade thoroughfare; its means of approach to the western world was by the way of the Caspian and Transcaucasia, and with the possession of the isthmus between the Caspian and the Black Seas the control of this route came into the hands of Rome. Accordingly, the policy of maintaining Roman supremacy in Armenia and Transcaucasia was dictated, not by military, but by economic and commercial considerations.

During the nineteenth century the control of the land routes to India was acquired by Russia. Beginning in 1801 with the annexation of the vassal kingdom of Georgia, she extended her Transcaucasian domain at the expense of Persia and Turkey, until, in 1829, she acquired Poti, on the Black Sea, and her frontier had been extended southward and eastward to the Aras and the mouth of the Kur.<sup>37</sup> The control of the great isthmus was completed by the acquisition of Batumi in 1878. Finally, in 1907, the famous Anglo-Russian agreement secured to Russia the control of all northern Persia with the route from Teheran to the Afghan border. Railways followed in the wake of Russian expansion. The line from Tiflis to Alexandropol was continued past Erivan and down the valley of the Aras to Djulfa on the frontier of Persia, and about 1914 it was carried on to Tabriz, whence it was to proceed to Teheran.

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<sup>31</sup> This seems to have been the pass used by Alexander on his northward journey. See Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, III, 28-29.

<sup>32</sup> *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 61.

<sup>33</sup> Strabo XI, p. 514, and XVII, p. 723.

<sup>34</sup> See Ritter, *Erdkunde II*, p. 14f.

<sup>35</sup> Herrmann, A. *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, Berlin, 1910, p. 5f.

<sup>36</sup> XXIII, 6, 60.

<sup>37</sup> Quadriga, F. *Russische Expansionspolitik, 1774-1914*, Berlin, 1914, p. 112f.

Meanwhile, however, another route to India was planned by Russia. This was nothing less than the old caravan route by way of the Caspian and the Oxus plain to the Hindu Kush Range and thence to Kabul and India.

In 1869 Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian, was fortified. This was followed by the conquest in 1881 of the western part of the present Province of Transcaspia, and by the annexation of Merv in 1884. Thus Russian domination was extended to the Oxus. Here also the railway followed annexation. The Transcaspian line was begun in 1880; in 1886 it was extended to Merv, and in 1895 a branch line was constructed from Merv to Kushka, on the Afghan frontier.<sup>38</sup>

British Russophobes have regarded the construction of this line as an important part of a Russian advance upon India.<sup>39</sup> They have pointed to the ease of invasion which its proximity affords, and have shown that with the aid of the Batum-Baku line, troops could be conveyed from Odessa to Merv in four or five days, and that the terminal station of Kushka is only about 75 miles distant from Herat. However this may be, the possession of Transcaspia assured to Russia the control of the northern routes into India. The road from Kushka leads to Herat and thence to Kabul to the east, or Kandahar to the southeast,<sup>40</sup> while another way is available from Tchardjui, where the railway crosses the Oxus, up the river by boat to Kilif, and thence by way of Balkh (ancient Bactra) across the Hindu Kush to Kabul,<sup>41</sup> closely approximating the ancient trade route. From Kabul to Peshawar in the Punjab the distance is only 172 miles.

The recent Anglo-Persian treaty seemed to advance British control westward from Herat to the Aras and the border of Armenia and to ensure an approach to India through northern Persia. This approach can be connected with the western world by two routes—the one, the Zagros Pass, leading from Hamadan through Khanikin to the Tigris basin and the Bagdad Railway; the other, the way through Armenia, either to the Black Sea at Batum or Trebizond, or across the tableland into Anatolia and Constantinople.

The conquest of Mesopotamia seems to have assured to Great Britain the control of the Zagros approach, but the future status of Armenia is still undecided. The power that controls it will control, even as the Romans did, a highway of great economic and strategic importance and a position of advantage in the Near East.

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<sup>38</sup> The distance by rail from Krasnovodsk to Kushka is 753 miles; Baedeker, *Russia*, 1914, p. 512.

<sup>39</sup> Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia*, London, 1889, p. 267f.

<sup>40</sup> Herat to Kabul, 500 miles; Herat to Kandahar, 389 miles; see Curzon, p. 418.

<sup>41</sup> Kilif to Kabul via Balkh, 380 miles; Curzon, p. 418.

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VI. THE EPEIROS-ALBANIA BOUNDARY DISPUTE IN ANCIENT  
TIMES.

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## THE EPEIROS-ALBANIA BOUNDARY DISPUTE IN ANCIENT TIMES.

By HERBERT WING.

The modern State of Albania<sup>1</sup> lies along the eastern shore of the Adriatic directly opposite the "heel" of Italy.<sup>2</sup> The larger part of the country is included between the fortieth and the forty-second parallels of north latitude and between the nineteenth and twenty-first meridians of longitude east of Greenwich. Thus situated, it occupies a district known in ancient times variously as South Illyricum, West Macedonia, and Praevalis. Its southern boundary, as delimited by the international commission in 1913-14, follows in general the northern rim of the Kalama Basin (ancient Thyamis) from a point opposite Corfu northeastward across the Viosa (ancient Aoos) to the Boion Range, and thence north toward Lake Ochrida (ancient Lychnis).<sup>3</sup>

South of Albania is the Greek province, Epeiros, until recently a part of the vilayet of Jannina.<sup>4</sup> This district derives its name from the Greek word for "mainland" or "continent." That in ancient times it was used vaguely is shown by the fact that it sometimes included Akarnania to the south and sometimes was extended northward to the Skumbi River (ancient Genousos).<sup>5</sup> The limits usually fixed by ancient writers—for example, Pliny the Elder<sup>6</sup>—are the Glossa Promontory and the Gulf of Arta. The eastern and northeastern frontiers were, as we shall see, uncertain, although Pindos formed the boundary toward Thessaly.<sup>7</sup>

Between Epeiros as it is now constituted and a line drawn nearly straight from Cape Glossa to Lake Ochrida is a region inhabited

<sup>1</sup> Albania was established as an independent state in 1913. See Nationalism and War in the Near East (by a diplomatist). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History (Oxford, 1915), pp. 340-6; L. Stoddard and G. Frank, Stakes of the War (N. Y., 1918), pp. 209-218; W. M. Sloane, The Balkans, a Laboratory of History (N. Y., 1914), passim; N. Forbes, A. J. Toynbee, D. Mitrany, D. G. Hogarth, The Balkans (Oxford, 1915), passim; J. A. R. Marriott, The Eastern Question (Oxford, 1918), passim; D. G. Hogarth, The Nearer East (N. Y., 1902), passim.

<sup>2</sup> Hence its importance in Italian diplomacy. The Straits of Otranto are only 45 or 50 miles broad, or approximately twice those at Gibraltar.

<sup>3</sup> Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, Enquête dans les Balkans (Paris, 1914), map on p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> C. Bursian, Geographie von Griechenland, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1862), I, 9-10; W. M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, 4 vols. (London, 1835), passim.

<sup>5</sup> Approximately the line of the Egnatian Way. Strabo, VII, ch. 7, 4; cf. ch. 5 and 6.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, Natural History, IV, 1.

<sup>7</sup> F. W. Putzger, Historische Schul-Atlas (Leipzig, 1901), pl. VI.

chiefly by Albanians of the Liab and Chiam tribes.<sup>8</sup> It contains the towns of Delvinon, Argyrokastron, Tepeleni, Moskopolis, and Koritsa. This district, approximately ancient Chaonia, Atintania, and Paravaia, and part of the country of the Illyrian tribes, Encheleai and Dassaretai,<sup>9</sup> the modern Greeks call Northern Epeiros; and they ask its surrender on the grounds that its culture and religion are Greek; that its population, although Albanian in speech, is Greek in race and political adherence; and that the region itself is historically a part of Hellas.<sup>10</sup>

Our problem is to ascertain where the northern line of Epeiros was drawn in ancient times, and whether there was a recognized racial or cultural difference in the tribes north and south of that line whom we may conveniently name Illyrians and Epeirotes. We must further try to discover whether the Epeirotes were considered by the Greeks as belonging to the Hellenic race.

With the exception of "wintry Dodona," which Homer mentions,<sup>11</sup> the whole region north of the Gulf of Arta to the River Save is scarcely mentioned in extant Greek literature before the age of Pericles. Herodotus apparently considered the Nekyomanteion on the Acheron and Dodona near Lake Jannina to be Greek, at least in language.<sup>12</sup> A century later Aristotle expressed the belief that Epeiros was the original home of the Greeks.<sup>13</sup> Thucydides, on the other hand, plainly asserted that the Chaonians, Atintanians, Thesprotians, Molossians, Paravaians, and Orestians were barbarian tribes in the service of the Spartan general Knemos operating in Akarnania in 429 B. C.<sup>14</sup> This statement was not made definite by indicating to what branch of the barbarians these tribes belonged, as Thucydides had done in the case of the Taulantians, an Illyrian tribe dwelling near Durazzo (ancient Epidamnos or Dyrrhachium).<sup>15</sup> This omission may or may not be significant. The tribes mentioned included practically all of Albania-Epeiros south of a line running from Cape Glossa to Mount Grammos in the Boion Range, or pos-

<sup>8</sup> M. E. Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London, 1905), p. 231. Cf. G. Soteriades, *An Ethnological Map Illustrating Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor* (London, 1918); E. Venizelos, *Greece before the Peace Congress of 1919* (N. Y., 1919), pp. 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> Longman's Classical Atlas, pl. XIII.

<sup>10</sup> Venizelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-5.

<sup>11</sup> *Iliad*, II, 750; XVI, 283.

<sup>12</sup> Herodotus, II, 56; V, 92; cf. VII, 176; I, 56; VIII, 48.

<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, *Meteorologia*, I, 353a (cited in G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* [Götha, 1893-], I, 198, note.)

<sup>14</sup> The Chaonians lived on the slopes of the Kerannian Mountains (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 1; Strabo, VII, 7, 5). The Atintanians occupied the upper basin of the Vioss (Strabo, VII, 7, 8; cf. Appian, *Illyrian Wars*, II, 7). The Thesprotians included southwestern Epeiros (Pliny, IV, 1; Strabo, VII, 7), the valley of the Acheron. The Molossians held the upper Arachthos and the plain of Jannina (Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, 9ff.) The Paravaians and Orestians were situated on the slopes of the Boion Range (Strabo, VII, 7, *passim*). The specific reference in Thucydides is II, 80.

<sup>15</sup> *Thuc.*, I, 24.

sibly even farther east to Lake Kastoria and the Neroka Platina (ancient Bora). If their association was more than accidental it would point to the existence of an Epeiros which included one-third to one-half of the area claimed by the Greeks, but which was considered as essentially non-Greek in race. This latter element is not decisive, both because of the disagreement among ancient writers and because of our uncertainty as to whether Thucydides determined race by language or by culture. A somewhat parallel case is that of the Macedonians. The evidence down to the fourth century is, on the whole, adverse to the historical claims of the Greeks not only to Northern Epeiros but also to Epeiros south and east of the Kalama Basin. It, however, tends to indicate a racial solidarity among the tribes south of the Glossa-Grammos line and a difference between them and the Illyrian peoples farther north.

The process of Hellenization of the Epeirote tribes, already noticed by Thucydides in the case of Amphilochian Argos,<sup>16</sup> continued in obscurity during the next three centuries. The heir to the throne of the Chaonians was sent to Athens to be educated.<sup>17</sup> An Epeirote king, Alexander, was counted a Greek when he invaded Italy. Pyrrhus was held without dispute to be a Greek.<sup>18</sup> The kingdom which he established won general recognition as a Greek people.<sup>19</sup> The Illyrians were considered distinct from the Epeirotes.<sup>20</sup> The boundaries of Epeiros at this time are not clearly discernible; but from a demand of Pyrrhus on the Macedonians that Tymphaia and Paravaia be given to him<sup>21</sup> we may infer that the northeast limit was Mounts Lingon and Amyros (approximately the Mitsikeli Range), and that Epeiros, therefore, did not include Konitsa or the district of Koritsa.<sup>22</sup> If Plutarch can be trusted, the Epeirotes had by the time of Pyrrhus attained a fair degree of national spirit.<sup>23</sup>

After the tragic death of Pyrrhus at Argos,<sup>24</sup> and the rule of some minor kings, the Epeirotes, in 284 B. C., abolished royalty and organized their state on the mode of the federal leagues in Aitolia

<sup>16</sup> Thuc., II, 68.

<sup>17</sup> Justinus, XVII, 3, 11; Cf. Bury, Greece, p. 614.

<sup>18</sup> Pausanias, Description of Greece, I, 11, 7.

<sup>19</sup> Their dialect belonged to the northwest branch of Greek. Cf. P. Giles, Manual of Comparative Philology (London, 1895), p. 472, and J. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte (Strassburg, 1893-), I, 88.

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch, Pyrrhus.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> This triangular strip of land between the lines drawn from Cape Glossa to Mount Grammos, and from Mount Grammos to Lake Ochrida, and from Lake Ochrida to Cape Glossa, was inhabited in antiquity by the Cheledoni, Encheleai, and the Dassareiai, all of whom were in ancient times considered Illyrian. Besides these, the Atintanians, in the upper Viosa Basin, were sometimes considered Epeirotes (Pliny, Nat. Hist. IV, 1, 1), and sometimes as Illyrians (Appian, Illyrian Wars, II, 7).

<sup>23</sup> They act in concert and are spoken of under the general name Epeirotes instead of by their several tribes (Plut. Pyrrhus, passim).

<sup>24</sup> Pausanias, I, 13, 8; Plut., Pyrrhus.



and Achaia.<sup>25</sup> This step was followed by Illyrian attacks on Epeirote, Akarnanian, and Aitolian cities.<sup>26</sup> Phoinike, a strongly fortified and powerful city in the territory of the Chaonians, was taken and sacked.<sup>27</sup> The Epeirotes who fled from the attack took refuge among the Atintanians who lived along the Viosa.<sup>28</sup> The victorious Illyrians, recalled by their queen, Teuta, to repel an invasion of the Dardanians, gave back to the Epeirotes the captured freemen and their city for a fixed ransom, and returned to Illyricum, part by sea and part by the land route through Antigoneia (modern Tepeleni).<sup>29</sup> The relieving force of Aitolians and Achaians, which had its position at Halikranon near modern Delvinon,<sup>30</sup> made no attempt to molest the freebooters as they passed.

It is obvious from this account that in 230 B. C. the northern boundary of Epeiros must have included Chaonia and possibly Atintania; or, in modern terms, the frontier ran about due east from Cape Glossa through Tepeleni and the Viosa. The northeastern boundary can not be determined.

Then Teuta angered the Romans by capturing Italian ships and refusing satisfaction to the Roman ambassadors sent to demand guarantees for the future.<sup>31</sup> The Roman consul, Cn. Fulvius, with 200 ships, was sent to compel obedience. Although he arrived too late at Corcyra to prevent its capture by the Illyrians, he managed to persuade Demetrios of Pharos, the commander, to put the city into his hands and guide the Romans in their subsequent campaign against Teuta. This succeeded admirably. The Atintanes and Partheni surrendered unconditionally, the Ardiaians (possibly Bordaiaans) were subdued. Corcyra, Apollonia, and Epidamnos were taken under Roman protection. Teuta fled to Rhizon on the Bocche di Cattaro,<sup>32</sup> and made a treaty of peace the following year by which the Illyrians agreed not to sail beyond Alessio<sup>33</sup> with more than two galleys both unarmed.<sup>34</sup> This provision, if strictly obeyed, would protect the Greek cities in Albania and the regions farther south from Illyrian raids. The Illyrians in Albania were taken under a kind of protectorate. The Atintanians were made practically Roman subjects,<sup>35</sup> the first east of the Adriatic. Again the boundary ran along the Griva Mountains and the southern edge of the Viosa Basin. The northeastern boundary can vaguely be discovered from

<sup>25</sup> J. P. Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire* (N. Y., 1887), p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> Polybius, II, 2-4.

<sup>27</sup> Polybius, II, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Polybius, II, 5.

<sup>29</sup> Polybius, II, 6; see also Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, map at end of vol. I.

<sup>30</sup> Polybius, II, 6.

<sup>31</sup> Polybius, I, 8-10.

<sup>32</sup> Polybius, II, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Anc. Lissos.

<sup>34</sup> Polybius, II, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Polybius, III, 16.

the campaign which Philip V of Macedon waged in 217 B. C. against the Dassaretans an Illyrian tribe living south of Lake Ochrida in the present district of Koritsa.<sup>36</sup> This region was outside of the limits of Epeiros as then constituted.

In 215 B. C. a treaty of alliance was concluded between Philip V and Hannibal. It contained this article among others, sworn to by the Carthaginians:

And when the gods have given us victory in our war with the Romans and their allies, if Hannibal shall deem it right to make terms with the Romans, these terms shall include the same friendship with you (i. e., Philip V and the Macedonians) made on these conditions: (1) the Romans not to be allowed to make war on you (i. e., Philip V); (2) not to have power over Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnos, Pharos, Dimale, Partheni, nor Atintania; (3) to restore to Dametries of Pharos all those of his friends now in the dominion of Rome.<sup>37</sup>

This unwilling testimony points to the *de facto* existence of a province in present Albania between the Arsoen<sup>38</sup> and the Viosa Rivers. The omission of Epeiros from the treaty indicates a separate state south of the Roman sphere of influence. Philip's attack on Lissos in 213 B. C. brought the Illyrian tribes of North Albania under his control,<sup>39</sup> and prepared the way for the later organization of Albania as a part of the Roman province of Macedonia.<sup>40</sup>

The son of Philip, Perseus, won the support of the Illyrians and of the Epeirotes with disastrous results to both. Genthios, the Illyrian king, who had possessed himself of Lissos during the weakness of Philip after Cynoscephalae, and who had attacked the Roman part of Illyricum (i. e., central Albania), was captured.<sup>41</sup> The Illyrians, like the Macedonians, suffered a division of their territory.<sup>42</sup> The people of Scutari, together with the Dassaretans and Selepitani and other Illyrian tribes unnamed, but doubtless including the Atintanians, Eordaians, and Partheni, paid tribute to Rome. Thus practically all of Albania north of the Viosa was under Roman control. The second division of Illyricum included Montenegro and southern Dalmatia; the third, Istria and northern Dalmatia.<sup>43</sup> It is again worth while to note that the Dassaretan territory around Koritsa was counted as Illyrian and not as Epeirote.

Seventy Epeirote towns, chiefly in Molossis, were sacked by the troops of Aemilius Paulus; 150,000 persons were sold into slavery.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Polybius, V, 108.

<sup>37</sup> Polybius, VII, 9 (Shuckburgh's translation).

<sup>38</sup> *Anc. Palamnos*.

<sup>39</sup> Polybius, VIII, 15-16.

<sup>40</sup> See below; also Putzger, *Hist. Schul-Atlas*, pl. 12 (inset).

<sup>41</sup> Appian: *Illyrian Wars* II, 9; Polybius, XXVII-XXX, *passim*, esp. XXVII, 15; XXIX, 3-4; XXX, 3, 14; Livy, XLIV, 30-32.

<sup>42</sup> Livy, XLV, 26.

<sup>43</sup> Livy, XLV, 26.

<sup>44</sup> Polybius, XXX, 16; Livy, XLV, 34.

From this blow the Epeirotes never fully recovered.<sup>45</sup> The country remained semi-independent until the war in Macedon in 146 B. C., when it was joined to Macedon and Albania as the Province of Macedon.<sup>46</sup>

Thereafter the history of Epeiros and of Albania follows the history of Rome. Administrative exigencies might cause the two districts to be united to Macedon or separated; but the line of cleavage was largely political and not so much racial or linguistic. The same influences that spread Roman law throughout the Mediterranean world, and Greek language and culture throughout the region east of the Adriatic, blotted out the distinctions between Albanian and Epeirote until the incursions of barbarian tribes and the decay of civilization, with interruption of communication, led to the development of new distinctions of race and language. But that story is the task of the historian of the Middle Ages.

I shall briefly mention the chief oscillations of the northern boundary of Epeiros between the time of Mummius (146 B. C.) and that of Irene (ca. 800 A. D.). Under Augustus, Epeiros and Albania were still ruled by the Roman proconsul of Macedonia.<sup>47</sup> The boundary between them, according to Bury<sup>48</sup> was the Viosa River. Pliny the Elder marks the limit as the Arkokeraunian promontory just south of the Viosa.<sup>49</sup> Strabo includes among the Epeirote the Atintanians, the Tymphaians, and the Orestians,<sup>50</sup> although he admits these peoples were mingled with Illyrian nations.

Trajan reorganized the empire. Under him Epeiros was made an independent province with Akarnania added. Albania was still joined to Macedon. The line was at the Viosa; but Epeiros included Atintania and Paravaia.<sup>51</sup>

Diocletian split up the older provinces of Macedonia and Achaia into six or seven—namely, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Praevalitana, Epirus Nova, Epirus Vetus, and Crete. These belonged to the diocese of Moesia and the prefecture of Illyricum.<sup>52</sup> Praevalitana was the present Albania; Epirus Vetus was the region south of the Griva Range; Epirus Nova comprised the territory of the Viosa Basin.<sup>53</sup> This diocese under the name of Macedonia went to the share

<sup>45</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* (N. Y., 1886), I, 277.

<sup>46</sup> Ptolemy, III; H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History* (N. Y., 1898), pp. 152, 154; cf. J. Marquardt, *Roemische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1873), I, 164; W. W. How and H. D. Leigh, *History of Rome to the Death of Caesar* (London, 1896), p. 282.

<sup>47</sup> Mommsen, *Rom. Prov.*, I, 277.

<sup>48</sup> J. B. Bury, *Roman Empire* (N. Y., n. d.), pp. 97, 103; cf. map opposite p. 82.

<sup>49</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Strabo, VII, ch. VII, 8.

<sup>51</sup> G. S. Goodspeed, *A History of the Ancient World* (N. Y., 1912), p. 476; Pelham, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

<sup>52</sup> W. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration* (London, 1906), p. 185.

<sup>53</sup> Caesar, *Civil War*, edited by C. E. Moberly (Oxford, 1880), map opposite p. 72.

of Arkadios, when, in 395 A. D., the empire of Theodosios was divided.<sup>54</sup>

The raids of barbarians became more disastrous.<sup>55</sup> With the coming of the Slavs, the Albanians and other suppressed peoples of the Balkan Peninsula became aggressive and encroached on the Hellenic population. This movement Finlay puts in the time of Heraklios.<sup>56</sup>

The area of Greek civilization was restricted to the district south of a line running from Durazzo to Constantinople. Practically all north of that was given up to the invaders, and much of the inland country south of the line was seized by the Slavs. In the anarchy that followed all significance of the Epeiros frontier was lost, since Epeiros, with the exception of Jannina fell a prey to Albanian and Slav; <sup>57</sup> then to Bulgarian and Turk.<sup>58</sup> In this condition it remained until in our own days the armies of George I recovered Southern Epeiros and those of Constantine occupied Northern Epeiros.<sup>59</sup>

To sum up: Epeiros in ancient times was more fully Hellenized than was the region north of the Viosa. Its northern boundary was usually drawn from Cape Glossa along the Griva Mountains toward Argyrokastron, and thence east toward Konitsa; but sometimes it ran from the Gulf of Valona, through Tepeleni to Mount Grammos. At no time during the ancient period does it seem to have included Koritsa and the district around Moskopolis.

<sup>54</sup> D. C. Munro, *History of the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1902), map before ch. 1.

<sup>55</sup> E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *passim*.

<sup>56</sup> G. Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans* (N. Y., n. d.), p. 329; *id.*, *Byzantine Empire* (N. Y., n. d.), *passim*.

<sup>57</sup> S. B. Harding, *New Mediaeval and Modern History* (N. Y., 1918), pp. 28-29.

<sup>58</sup> J. H. Robinson, *History of Western Europe* (Boston, 1903), map on p. 152 (1000 A. D.).

<sup>59</sup> Forbes and others, *Balkans*, p. 241; Marriott, *Eastern Question*, pp. 457, 472.



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VII. PETER OF ABANO: A MEDIEVAL SCIENTIST.

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## PETER OF ABANO: A MEDIEVAL SCIENTIST.

By LYNN THORNDIKE.

Peter of Abano, or Peter of Padua, as he is often called, from the larger city near which he was born and where he did much of his teaching, one of the most influential men of learning during the last years of the thirteenth and the opening years of the fourteenth century, of whose writings in medicine, philosophy, and astronomy many are extant and most of these in printed editions, has never been adequately or accurately discussed in English. In our language there have been merely brief notices of, or incidental references to him, in histories of science and medicine, or of the Inquisition and of rationalism in Europe. Such passages and parallel ones in foreign languages often give dates of his life or death incorrectly (as distinguished a scholar as Steinschneider, for example, gives the year of his birth as 1253 or 1246), or do injustice to his opinions, or represent him as a victim of the Inquisition and an example of the hostility of the medieval church to science, to an extent which the sources do not justify.

In the time now at our disposal it will hardly be possible to do more than briefly indicate Peter's general position in the history of science and then discuss the sources for, and chief known events of, his life, with some allusion to his writings.

Peter of Abano was not one of the earliest medieval men of science. Indeed, he may be regarded as one of the last representatives of the Latin revival of mathematical and natural science which seems, like the general medieval revival of civilization, to have started in the tenth and eleventh centuries and to have reached its height in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries. Coming thus, in a sense, at the close of a period or movement in the history of science, Peter not unnaturally occupied himself especially in supplementing, correcting, and reconciling the work of his predecessors. Some works that had been unsatisfactorily translated he retranslated. Such important works of Aristotle, Galen, and others, as he could find that had not yet been translated, he translated from Greek into Latin. He added to the medical work of Mesuë the Younger. And in his *Conciliator*, a tome of enormous bulk, he endeavored to reconcile and harmonize the conflicting opinions of the medical men and philosophers who had gone before him.



Pico della Mirandola at the close of the fifteenth century made a trenchant criticism of Peter's erudition, when he characterized him as "a man fitted by nature to collect rather than to digest." But this judgment was also too severe, for Peter was not a mere compiler, but something of an experimental astronomer as well as a painstaking and critical translator, a voluminous commentator on Aristotle, and a great medical authority. In the *Conciliator* he makes several references to his personal astronomical observations and to other treatises which he has composed upon astronomical topics. Some of these are extant in print or in manuscript, including the preface and first six *Differentiae* of the *Lucidator* which paralleled in the fields of astronomy and astrology his *Conciliator* in the field of medicine. Peter was as keenly interested in astrology as in astronomy, and was a firm believer in astrological medicine. But that pseudo science was a universal failing of his time, and even in Pico della Mirandola's day it was not merely "the less learned" who were "wont to admire" Peter "most when he lies most." Peter, however, had faith in the power of words as well as in the stars, and twice, in the *Conciliator*, states, in all seriousness, that he had made progress in science by means of a prayer to God made under a certain constellation.

Peter has often been called a disciple of Averroës and the founder of Averroism in Italy, but as far as I have examined his works I have found little to substantiate this. Peter did not foresee the achievements of modern chemistry, for he declared that it was impossible ever to find the quantities and weights of the constituent elements in objects. Such despair was, however, not surprising in view of the old Greek theory of four elements under which medieval scientists were still trying to work.

Peter's own writings, in which there are a number of personal statements and citations from his works, are the most reliable source for the events of his life. His will was published by dal Verci in 1789, and documents relating to his call to the new university at Treviso are reported both by dal Verci and Tiraboschi. Thomas, of Strasburg, prior general of the Augustinian Friars from 1345 to 1357, states one posthumous fact concerning Peter as an eyewitness, while later in the fourteenth century Benvenuto of Imola, in his *Commentary on the Divine comedy*, tells an anecdote about Peter's deathbed which sounds apocryphal. Rather legendary, too, seem some of the statements made about the middle of the fifteenth century, in the work on the great citizens of Padua in the past, which was composed by Michael Savonarola, the noted physician and medical writer, and grandfather of the famous friar who tried to reform Florence. But he adds new information concerning Peter's life, and seems to have had access to documents which we no longer

possess, as well as to local tradition. He states that he treasures in his possession the original manuscript of Abano's chief work, the *Conciliator*, in Peter's own handwriting, and he mentions having read with great pleasure an abundance of letters by which the people of Padua recalled Peter to their midst from Paris. Savonarola's account is also important because of his sympathy with Peter's views, and appreciation of his learning. Scardeone, who wrote in the sixteenth century *On the Antiquity of the City of Padua*, can hardly be regarded as so good an authority as Savonarola, but he makes one or two new assertions concerning Peter's life.

In the seventeenth century Gabriel Naudé has something to say of Peter in his *Apology for Great Men who have been falsely Suspected of Magic*, published in 1625, but incorrectly places Peter's death in 1306; while Tomasini, in 1630, gives 1316 as the date and includes a portrait of Peter of Abano in his *Eulogies of Illustrious Men adorned with Pictures*. I have not had access to Duchastel's account of Peter in his *Lives of Illustrious Physicians*, published at Antwerp in 1618, nor to Goulin's *A Historical and Critical Notice on the life of Abano*, printed in 1715, but have used an article with a similar title by Count Gian-Maria Mazzuchelli, published in 1741, and a monograph by Colle which first appeared in 1823. Colle's article was reprinted with variations the next year. A monograph by Ronzoni appeared in 1878, and in 1884 Gloria adduced new source material in his *Monuments of the University of Padua*. Sante Ferrari discussed his contributions to biology in a pamphlet published in 1900, when it was stated that he would soon publish a volume upon Peter, but this expectation does not seem to have been realized. Meanwhile, in 1912, appeared an article by B. Nardi on *The Theory of the Soul and the Generation of Forms* according to Peter of Abano, and in 1916 Antonio Favaro wrote on *Pietro d'Abano ed suo Lucidator astrologiae*.

Peter's own statements in his chief work, the *Conciliator*, show that he wrote it in 1303, after having worked it over in classroom lectures and discussions for 10 years previously, and that he was 53 years of age at that time. In other words, he was born in 1250. On one point at least of Peter's biography we have more precise and scientific detail than is customary in the lives of the great men of the past, for he confides to us exactly how long a time elapsed before his birth, 9 months and 14 days, as he had learned by astrological scrutiny and from his "most capable mother." From Peter's will and from Scardeone we learn that his father was a public notary and that Peter himself had one son named Beneventus.

At some time of unknown date Peter was in Sardinia, where he says he saw a case of poisoning from "Pharoah's fig"; and in Constantinople where he discovered a volume of the *Problems of Aristotle*, which he translated into Latin for the first time. It was prob-

ably there, too, that he saw a Greek version of Dioscorides arranged alphabetically—his own edition of Dioscorides, however, follows another text—and secured the works of Galen and other treatises which Savonarola says he translated from Greek into Latin. Peter is also said to have visited Spain, England, and Scotland, but I have as yet found no proof of this.

There is more than one indication that Peter enjoyed papal patronage and protection, just as Arnald of Villanova, a medical contemporary of his, was papal physician to Clement V, at Avignon, and wrote treatises for that pontiff. Colle, however, doubted the story that Peter was court physician to Honorius IV (1285–1287) and charged him one hundred florins a day, on the ground that Peter would be too young at that time, and for the better reason that the chronicler Filippo Villani tells the same tale of a Florentine doctor. Peter's treatise on poisons is addressed in some manuscripts to Pope John XXII who was not elected until August 7, 1316—a date later than that usually set for Peter's death. But there is no very good reason for thinking Peter dead by 1316. It is true that he made his will in May, 1315, but that does not prove that he died soon after, for, to illustrate again by the life of Arnald of Villanova, Arnald made his will, which has come down to us, in 1305, but did not die until about 1312. Peter's citation, in his work on poisons, of some work by Avenzoar, which was translated for a pope whose name is abbreviated to "Bo," can only refer to Boniface VIII, pope from 1294 to 1303, and so indicates that Peter did address his work on poisons to John XXII and that perhaps he succeeded to the place which Arnald of Villanova, dead by 1312, had occupied in the favor of Clement V, John's predecessor. As we shall see presently from Peter's own words, Boniface VIII was probably the pope who had earlier protected him from certain persecutors. It is again interesting to note that Arnald of Villanova was rescued by the same pope, in 1300, from the theological faculty at Paris, who had detained him in France because of his book predicting the coming of Antichrist.

Much of Abano's life was spent at the University of Paris, where, Savonarola says, he was regarded as a second Aristotle, and called "the great Lombard." There he wrote his work on Physiognomy, which he dedicated to the man who was captain general of Mantua from 1292 to 1299. In 1293 Peter found astrological writings of the Jew, Abraham ben Ezra, who had flourished at Toledo in the twelfth century, defectively translated from Hebrew to French, and therefore published a more correct Latin rendition of his own, adding treatises that had not been included in the previous translation. He talked with the famous oriental traveler, Marco Polo, at some time between the latter's return to Venice, in 1295, and the completion of

the Conciliator, in 1303, in which he cites Marco's statements to him concerning tropical countries near the Equator. Some, at least, of Peter's translations of Galen had already been executed, since they are referred to by him in the Conciliator, and others are found in manuscripts dated 1304 and 1305. Savonarola states that Peter completed the Conciliator and began the composition of his commentary on the Problems of Aristotle at Paris, and this is confirmed by the Explicit of the latter work, which states that Peter wrote part of it at Paris and finished it at Padua in 1310. One of several manuscripts of the work now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is dated 1310 and is perhaps the autograph.

Colle estimated that Peter was recalled to Padua about 1306. Grabmann in his recent researches concerning the thirteenth century translations of Aristotle, has called attention to a translation of the History of Animals made from the Greek in 1260, which Peter of Abano purchased in 1309 from Francesco of Mantua for seven Venetian soldi. Peter's own work on the motion of the eighth sphere is dated 1310 in a Vatican manuscript of it of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but, as he cites it in the Conciliator, this date must be incorrect, or the text a revised and later one. In August, 1314, Peter's name headed the list of three names to be balloted upon for the newly established chair of medicine at Treviso, but either he was not elected or refused the appointment, since Peter of Suzara was finally appointed. A bequest in his will made in May, 1315, seems to indicate that he did not expect to teach any longer in Padua. The only question is, therefore, whether he died immediately or lived on and taught at Treviso. One manuscript of his work on poisons not only is addressed to Pope John XXII, but represents Peter as acting dean of the University of Montpellier at that time, which would be 1316 or some later date. If this be true, we should have one more resemblance between the careers of Peter and Arnald of Villanova, whom bulls of Pope Clement V twice mention as having "once long ruled" at Montpellier.

The statement has often been made that Peter of Abano was brought to trial before the Inquisition on charges of heresy, magic, or astrology, and that he was only saved from a worse fate by dying before the trial was over. Indeed, often two trials are mentioned—one in 1306 and another at the time of his death in 1315 or 1316. Let us see what evidence there is on these points.

In the Conciliator, written in 1303, we find a germane statement by Peter himself at the close of a chapter in which he has discussed the determination of periods in history and the rise of new prophets and religions, by the course of the stars, and the connection of seven angelic intelligences with the seven planets. After this somewhat

bold but for that time scarcely novel indulgence in astrology, Peter concludes:

So much then has been said as can be comprehended by reason concerning this matter according to the skill of the world's scholars, in no way derogating from divine wisdom in what has been written above, but rather in all points confirming it, since it alone is truth and life. In this matter, however, some mischief makers, unwilling or rather unable to hear, for a long time have freely vexed me, from whose hands at last the said truth has laudably snatched me and mine, with the intervention, too, of an apostolic mandate.

Peter, in other words, has gotten the better of his would-be detractors or persecutors, and the pope, presumably Boniface VIII, has issued an injunction in his behalf. But this can not refer to a trial in 1306 or 1315, since it was written in or before 1303. In fact, it need not have reference to a trial, or to the Inquisition, at all. It does, however, show that Peter's astrology had aroused considerable opposition, presumably at Paris.

It should be added that in a number of passages in his works Peter recognizes that the Peripatetic, or Aristotelian philosophy, and Christian dogma do not agree, and, while carefully stating and perhaps secretly agreeing with the philosophical argument, gives his adhesion, at least outwardly, to the orthodox faith. He divides his *Conciliator* into three parts in honor of the Trinity; he employs such devout phrases as "*Si deo placet*" and "*Deo gratias*" in his *Addition to Mesuë*, and he argues that trust in God is of avail in the art of medicine. In his last will and testament, as drawn up in 1315, he makes profession of firm faith in the Trinity, Creed, and Articles of Faith, and declares that he believes "in all respects just as Holy Mother Church believes and teaches" and that he will remain in this belief until his last breath. "And if it should be found that he has ever said anything contrary to the Faith, he said it not because he believed it, but probably for purposes of disputation."

It was probably on the basis of such facts as these just stated that Benvenuto of Imola sixty or seventy years later elaborated his anecdote of Peter's deathbed. About to die, he told the students, friends and fellow physicians who stood about his bed, that he had devoted his life especially to three noble sciences, of which one made him subtle, and that was philosophy; the second made him rich, and that was medicine; the third made him a liar, and that was astrology.

Thomas of Strasburg, however, who, as we have said, was prior general of the Augustinians from 1345 to 1357, has another tale to tell in his *Commentary upon the Sentences*. He calls Peter of Abano a heretic, although a most capable physician, one who derided the miracles by which Christ and the saints raised the dead by arguing that men afflicted with a certain disease often fall into a trance for three complete revolutions of the sky. And when asked if Lazarus

was not in the tomb for four days he would say that it was for only three full days, since the first and fourth days were incomplete. Thomas does not distinctly state that Peter ventured to deny the resurrection of Christ, but concludes his incidental allusion to Peter by saying: "But in this his iniquity he was deceived and received the reward of his error. For I was present when in the city of Padua his bones were burned for these and his other errors." The inference which has been made from this brief statement is that at some time after Peter's death he was condemned by the Inquisition and his body disinterred and burned. Of this more presently. Perhaps one further parallel in the career of Arnold of Villanova may be remarked, for five years after his death an inquisitor at Tarragona pronounced some passages in his works to be heretical. But be it further noted that Thomas does not say that Peter was on trial before his death, nor does he charge Peter with magic or astrology. Indeed, in other passages of his own Commentary on the Sentences, he displays a considerable faith in astrology himself, asserting that the sky itself has a real action on inferior objects. He affirms, it is true, that the human will is free and that the stars can not act upon it directly; but he admits that they may exert an indirect influence owing to the radical union within us of sense appetite and intellectual appetite.

A century later Michael Savonarola supplements with further detail the general impression of an opposition between Peter and at least a certain party in the church which we have already received. He tells us that Peter's great knowledge of astronomy enabled him to make predictions so accurate that men thought he resorted to magic, and that the present tradition among the citizens of Padua is that he was an adept in magic. "Moreover," adds Savonarola, who apparently has a favorable opinion at least of natural magic, "this helps round out his teaching, nor is it contrary to his other sciences, but makes the man the more illustrious." This reputation for magic, however, led the Dominican inquisitor to denounce Peter as a heretic at Paris and try to lead him to prison and the flames. "But he was held in so great veneration by royal majesty and the entire university that means were not supplied the inquisitor to take him." Savonarola goes on to say that when Peter learned of this, he induced the king and university to call a council of doctors of Holy Scripture whom he convinced by forty-five arguments that not he but the Dominicans were heretics. "And after sentence had been so given," continues Savonarola, "if the story is to be believed, it was brought about that the Dominicans were driven from Paris as heretics and exiles and were unable to reside there for 32 years." But, of course, we do not credit this story of the expulsion of the Dominicans, which is not recorded elsewhere, and therefore Savonarola's entire

account is open to suspicion. He goes on to say, however, that the case was then appealed to Rome and that by intervention of the Pope peace was at last made between the Dominicans and Peter, and that in his testament, "which is held in great veneration by many Paduans," Peter directed that his body should be buried in the church of the Dominicans as a sign to God and the world that he had kept the peace with them. "But," concludes Savonarola, "the Dominican inquisitor, full of venom and breaking the truce to which he had sworn—an action the more detestable in a clergyman—in the dead of the night opened the sepulchre, burned the body, and gave the ashes to the wind. O unspeakable crime!" Thus Savonarola says nothing to indicate that Peter was being tried by the Inquisition at the time of his death. All that he says goes to prove the contrary.

As we recede still farther from Peter of Abano's own time to Scardeone's sixteenth century account, still more specific details accumulate. Scardeone states that a rival physician, Peter of Reggio, jealous of Abano's science and fame, reported him to the Inquisition as a heretic and necromancer; and that the Inquisition twice instituted proceedings against him; namely, in 1306 when three illustrious men whom Scardeone names were his patrons and he was acquitted, and in 1315 when he died during the trial and was buried in the church of St. Anthony. Even Scardeone says nothing to suggest that Peter's death was due to torture or that he was tortured. The Inquisition proceeded, however, to condemn him upon the basis of his writings; but meanwhile his friends had removed and hidden his body, and the inquisitors had to be content with burning him in effigy. "This," coolly continues Scardeone, "is why Thomas of Strasburg wrote that he saw the bones of Peter of Abano burned in the square at Padua." Thus Scardeone not merely makes new assertions based on no one knows what, but contradicts the statements of Savonarola, who lived nearer to the event, and of Thomas, an eyewitness. It is on Scardeone's account, nevertheless, that most modern allusions to Peter of Abano and his fate seem based. And he is apparently the first writer to state that Peter died while under trial by the Inquisition. Another story, which is not even in Scardeone, is that Peter's housekeeper Marietta kept his body hidden and afterwards buried it in the church of St. Peter at Padua.

One more point bearing upon the question of Peter's relations with the Inquisition is the inscription upon a statue of him at Padua which Naudé has recorded. It read: "Peter of Abano and Padua, most learned in philosophy and medicine, and on that account winner of the name of Conciliator; in astrology indeed so skilful that he incurred suspicion of magic, and, falsely accused of heresy, was acquitted." Thus only one trial is mentioned and nothing said of any

condemnation. But unfortunately Naudé does not give the date of the inscription.

There is not time to mention other legends that grew up about Peter's name, and other works that, correctly or incorrectly, have come down to us under his name.<sup>1</sup> But before closing I should like to give a few specimens of the questions discussed in his noted work, the *Conciliator*.

11. Is the number of the elements four or otherwise?
14. Has air weight in its own sphere?
23. Is the brain of hot or moist complexion?
28. Is manhood hotter than childhood or youth?
30. Does blood alone nourish?
42. Is the flesh or the heart the organ of touch?
52. Does the marrow nourish the bones?
57. Is vital virtue something different from natural and animal virtue?
66. Is spring temperate?
67. Is life possible south of the Equator? (Peter answers, Yes.)
69. Is the white of the egg hot and the yolk cold?
70. (Supplement.) Is wine good for children?
72. Is there a mean between health and sickness?
77. Is pain felt?
79. Is a small head a better sign than a large one?
80. Are the arteries dilated when the heart is, and constricted also when it is?
81. Is there attraction exercised when the arteries dilate and a loosening when they are constricted?
83. Is musical consonance found in the pulse?
101. Can a worm be generated in the belly?
103. (Supplement.) Is death more likely to occur by day or night?
110. (Supplement.) Are eggs beneficial in fevers?
114. Does the air alter us more than food or drink does?
115. Is life shortened more in autumn than other seasons?
118. (Supplement.) Should one take exercise before or after meals?
119. Should heavy food be taken before light?
120. Should one eat once, twice, or several times a day?
121. Should dinner be at noon or night?
122. Should one drink on top of fruit?
123. Should one sleep on the right or left side?
135. Does confidence of the patient in the doctor assist the cure?
153. Is every cure by contrary?

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<sup>1</sup> A fuller account of his life, works, science, and superstition, together with detailed references to the source material, will be given in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Chapter LXX.



- 154. Should treatment begin with strong or weak medicine?
- 157. Does sleep help the cure?
- 171. Is cold water good in fevers?
- 182. (Supplement.) Can fever coincide with apoplexy?
- 183. Is paralysis of the right side harder to cure than that of the left?
- 193. Can consumption be cured?
- 194. Does milk agree with consumptives?
- 204. Is a narcotic good for colic?
- 206. Is blood letting from the left hand a proper treatment for gout in the right foot?

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VIII. ABSTRACT OF COMMISSIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO  
COLONIAL GOVERNORS IN AMERICA: 1740.

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BY ARTHUR H. BASYE.  
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## ABSTRACT OF COMMISSIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONIAL GOVERNORS IN AMERICA: 1740.

By ARTHUR H. BASTE.

The following entry appears in the Journal of the Board of Trade and Plantations under date of February 22, 1738:

"The Board having had several general instructions under their consideration, have ordered that an exact transcript be made of all such instructions as are general in their nature and applicable to all His Majesty's governments in America without distinction.

"That the said general instructions be digested under the several heads to which they belong respectively, such as Council, Assembly, Courts of Judicature, Granting of Lands, etc.

"That there likewise be a distinct transcript made of all such local instructions as are applicable to any particular colony or colonies."<sup>1</sup>

No further mention of this matter occurs in the journals; no document such as is here described is to be found among the papers of the Board in the Public Record Office. In the Newcastle collection in the British Museum, however, there is a volume bearing the date of 1740 which was obviously prepared as an "office handy book" for the use of the Board of Trade and which, in general, conforms to this order of 1738. Its title is, "Abstract of the Commissions and Instructions formerly and at this time given to the governors of His Majesty's Plantations in America with References to the Books and Papers showing the Alterations that have been made therein, as also Observations on the most remarkable Occurrences in each Government especially before the Establishment of the Office in 1696".<sup>2</sup> This volume also includes "copy book" forms of the proper methods of addressing formal communications to members of the Privy Council, to other high officials, and to the colonial governors, whose official and technically correct titles varied from colony to colony; there is, in addition, a list of the members of the Board from 1696 to 1749, showing for each the term of service, the reason for withdrawal—i. e., death, resignation, dismissal—and the line of succes-

<sup>1</sup> C. O. 891: 47, pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 30372.

sion.\* It is, therefore, a convenient book of reference; as such it would be as useful to the Secretary of State as to the Board of Trade, and it is not difficult to understand why this document, along with many others of a like public nature, came into the hands of the Duke of Newcastle.

The value of the abstracts of the commissions and instructions is self-evident to all those who have attempted to trace the development of the colonial governorship; it is unfortunate that the whole of the colonial period is not covered, but with the aid of these summaries the task of collating the later commissions and instructions is made a comparatively simple one.

No editorial changes have been made except the change of omitting the rather complicated system of cross references to the papers of the Board. These references are, naturally, in the old office form and are of little or no value to one who has not direct access to the documents.

ARTHUR HERBERT BASYE.

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\* For further description see Andrews, Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscripts Materials for the History of the United States to 1783*, in the British Museum, in *Minor London Archives*, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, p. 121.

Folio 2<sup>b</sup>

When the several clauses began or were altered.	Abstract of the Governors Commissions.
1660/1. Jamaica.	Revocation of the former Commission & the new Gov <sup>t</sup> appointed who is to act according to his Commiss <sup>es</sup> & such Instructions as he shall receive under the Sign Manual, or by Order in Council.
1672. Barbados. } Leeward Isl <sup>d</sup> 1686. }	To take the State Oaths himself & administer them to the Council. Power to suspend Councillors & Lt Gov <sup>r</sup> in the Leew <sup>d</sup> Islands, & Dep <sup>y</sup> Gov <sup>r</sup> in y <sup>e</sup> Islands dependent on Barbados.
1685. Virginia.	To send Accounts of all Vacancies in Council to the King. A Quorum of each Council to be
1673. Barbados. 1626. Virginia. 1660/1. Jamaica.	May fill up Vacancies in the Council to 7 but no higher. 9 in Virginia only.
1680. Jamaica is the first precedent of Instructions for passing Laws as they now stand in the Commissions for all Governors, vid. Commission to Col. Dungan for New York 1683. vid. Commission to ditto to make all Laws with Consent of Council only 1685. Ibid.	To call Assemblies (according to the Laws or Usage of the Place) according to the usage of other Colonies. Assembly Men must take the State Oaths, before they Act. Governor with Advice & Consent of the Council & Assembly may make Laws agreeable & not repugnant to English Laws. Laws must be sent within 3 months, for the Kings Approbation or Disallowance. Laws disallowed by the Crown shall be deemed void. Governor to have a Negative Voice in passing of all Laws. He may adjourn, prorogue & dissolve Assemblies. He shall keep and use the publick Seal.
1660/1. Jamaica.	He may administer or cause to be administered the State Oaths to all he thinks fit.
Ibid.	With Advice & Consent of Council he may erect Courts of Judicature and cause Oaths to be administered to Judges &c.
Ibid.	To appoint Judges, Comm <sup>rs</sup> of Oyer & Terminer, Justices of the Peace &c.
1679. Virginia.	May relieve for Treason & Murder, all other Offences he may pardon.
1660/1. Jamaica. }	Power to collate Parsons to Benefices.
1663. Barbados. }	May establish a Militia, pursue Enemies & put 'em to death, & execute Martial Law. With Advice & Consent of the Council may erect & demolish Forts, Castles &c.
1684. Jamaica. }	May make Cap <sup>ts</sup> , Lieuts. &c. of Ships of War, with power to execute Martial Law.
1685. Jamaica. }	Gov <sup>r</sup> not to meddle with Offences committed at Sea on board the Kings Ships. But Officers or Sailors belonging to the Kings Ships he may punish for Offences on shore.
1679. Virginia.	All publick money to be issued by the Gov <sup>r</sup> Warrant, with Advice & Consent of Council.
1660/1. Jamaica.	To grant Lands with like Advice & Consent, reserving Quit Rents &c under publick Seal. And with same Advice & Consent to appoint Fairs, Marts & Markets, Ports, Harbours &c. All Officers, Civil & Military & all other Inhabitants to be aiding and assisting to the Governor & to the Commander in chief for the time being, who is to enjoy the same power as the Governor himself.
1625. Virginia. first Rule for Devolution of Government.	If there is no Lieut. Governor, then the an Exception to See a Deputy upon this Rule in
1680. Barbados.	Gov <sup>r</sup> in case of Death or absence of the Governor, is to devolve on the President of the Council.
1707. Virginia.	Governors to continue only during the Kings Pleasure.
1674. Jamaica.	this Rule in the Leew <sup>d</sup> Islands in 1731. vide Ent. K., fol. 108.
1702. New York.	See a Deputy upon this Point between Estrida & Phipps of St. Kitts in 1728.
1691. New England. altered in Relation to Rhode Island in 1730.	Leeward Island, bun. T. 13, 14, 15, 16.
1697. New England.	The Gov <sup>t</sup> of New York has Power to command the Militia in Connecticut. Gov <sup>t</sup> of the Massachusetts the same Power in Rhode Island in time of war. Gov <sup>r</sup> of the Massachusetts & New Hampshire have an implicit Power to appoint Patent Officers, all other Governors have that Power in their Instructions.

## Folio 3.

When the several Powers were granted.	Observations on Powers and Restrictions formerly inserted in Governors Commissions & Instructions.
1680. Barbados. Ibid.	The Governors had Power to appoint Deputy Governors in the dependent Islands, and Councillors, but those Councillors were not to be Judges. St John Witham was appointed President of the Council, tho' not eldest. Rule for Devolution of Governm <sup>t</sup> established, then on the Council in gen <sup>l</sup> In the Leeward Islands on the Lieut <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> , then on Lieut <sup>t</sup> Gov <sup>r</sup> of Nevis and last on the President of the Council of Nevis, ..... (altered in 1732 as it now stands).
1625. Virginia. } 1673. Barbados. }	Governors of Leeward Islands have Deputy Gov <sup>r</sup> s in the Virgin Islands tho' no Power by their Commissions to appoint them. Governors formerly had a Power by their Com <sup>ss</sup> to suspend Cap <sup>ts</sup> of men of war. (revoked in 1702.)
1702.	Governors had Power for that Purpose given them by the L <sup>d</sup> H. Admiral. Quite taken away in 1707. Jamaica. G. 348.
1692.	The Gov <sup>t</sup> of New York had Power to govern Pennsylvania also, but upon Mr. Penn's Petition and Submission in 1694, that Commission was revoked. Pennsylvania entries fol. 28, 51, 63.
1660. Jamaica.	In case of the Governors Death the Council were impowered to elect a new one.
Ibid.	Form of a Writ for electing Assembly Men directed by the Crown.
1661/2. Ibid.	Lord Windsor instructed to encourage Commerce with the Spaniards, and to force a Trade with them, if necessary.
1677. Jamaica.	Lord Vaughan was directed to suffer Spaniards to buy Blacks in Jamaica.
1687. Do	The Duke of Albemarle was allowed to confer the Honour of Knighthood.
1684. Do	Spaniards to be admitted to Trade to Jamaica by the Kings Letter, The Opinion of the Commiss <sup>rs</sup> of the Customs thereon.
1704. Trade. C.	British Ships allowed to trade with the Spanish West Indies in time of War.
1660. Jamaica.	Governor to have 12 Councillors, Secretary to be one, & 11 elected by the People, the Lieut <sup>t</sup> Governor and Major were afterwards added to the Council.
ib.	Governor impowered to grant Commiss <sup>ss</sup> to Persons to find out new Trades.
1665. ib.	Governor has Power to erect Courts of Admiralty.
Jamaica.	An Order about Vice Admiralty Jurisdiction.
1674. Jamaica.	Power to erect Custom houses & Officers relating thereto.
1673. Ibid.	Governor impowered to Lease Mines out for 21 years.
Do. Do.	No Law to be passed that shall apply Fines or Forfeitures [forfeitures?] to the Publick.
1680. Ibid.	Governor privately instructed to get a Revenue settled.
1686. New York.	King James allowed the Governor of New York to issue publick money without the advice of Council, and ordered all Laws relating to the Franchises and Liberties of the People to be deliver'd void, but commanded him to continue all the Laws for raising of Taxes in full Force, and impowered him to pass Laws with Advice of Council without an Assembly.
1667. Barbados.	Lord Willoughby was instructed to permit Spaniards to import at Barbados, Pearls, Gold, Silver, &c, and export thence Goods carried thither in English Bottoms. (vide Barbados, Bun. T. 240, 241).
1685. Jamaica. }	This Trade further extended.
Journal, Vol. 5. }	The Governor allowed to choose his own 12 Councillors, and change 'em at Pleasure.
1663. Barbados.	And with their Advice, without an Assembly, to make Laws, but not to take Peoples Right away.
ib.	A Power to erect Courts to try Causes in Marine Affairs for 7 years only.
ib.	

## Folio 3b

When the several Powers were granted.	Observations on Powers and Restrictions formerly inserted in Governors Commissions & Instructions.
1663. Barbados. 1666. Do. Do. Do. 1673. Do. Do. 1679. Virginia. 1688. Do. Do. 1662. Do. 1676. Do. 1679. Do.	<p>Power of Martial Law exceeding great in making Articles of War. Governors allowed to accept of Presents from the Assemblies. Governors impowered to impress Merchant Ships. Work Houses to be erected for employing the Poor. (1721. Barbados. When discontinued.)</p> <p>The King ordered that no suspended Councilor should be allowed to sit in the Assembly.</p> <p>Assemblies to be called yearly, and the Councilors &amp; 10 Servants each, to be exempt from all Publick Charges, except to War, Parsons, Churches &amp;c. Hemp, Flax, Naval Stores &amp; Silk Productions to be encouraged.</p> <p>The Governor to imitate New England in building Towns upon Rivers.</p> <p>The Governor and five Councilors to try all Treasons, Murders &amp;c.</p> <p>Lord Culpepper had a Commission to be Governor during Life, with a Power to lease out Royal Mines for 21 years reserving to the Crown 1/10th of the Ore. And in Case of his and the Lieut. Governor's Death or Absence, the Council were to Assume the Government but to do nothing without Consent of the Major and Secretary.</p> <p>He was forbid to call Assemblies without the Kings Leave.</p> <p>He was to have all Draughts of Bills approved here before passed, Except to raise money upon Emergencies.</p> <p>Governor to secure one half of all Treasure fisht out of the Sea for the King.</p> <p>Colo. Codrington was impowered to supply vacant Commissions in Colo. Holts Regiment.</p>
ib.	<p>Captains of Men of War, not to carry Merchants Goods on the Kings Ships.</p> <p>Colo. Dudley appointed Temporary Governor w<sup>th</sup> a very remarkable Comm<sup>a</sup>.</p> <p>Sr. Edmund Andros appointed Governor, with Power to make Laws and raise Taxes by advice of Council without Assembly. To have the same Power over New York, New Jersey, Connecticut &amp; Rhode Island.</p> <p>Governor of Massachusetts empowered to appoint an Attorney General.</p> <p>Queens Mandamus to the Governor about prosecutions for Witchcraft, and about Persons possessed with Devils &amp; casting 'em out.</p> <p>Governors with Advice of Council impowered to impress Seamen.</p> <p>Governor to get a Law passed to impower him &amp; the Council to levy Money on Emergencies without an assembly.</p> <p>The enacting Stile of Laws to be by the Governor and Council only.</p> <p>Governors Allowance for Transportation to their Governments.</p> <p>The first Civil Government in New Hampshire by a Presid.<sup>t</sup> &amp; Council, very different from all other Governments.</p> <p>Governor to pass Laws to Oblige Malefactors to serve 8 years.</p> <p>The Commission for the Government of New Hampshire was altered as to a Recital of its Boundaries, in 1729, and again in 1741.</p>
1687. Bermuda. 695. Leeward Isds. 16 Plans, Gen <sup>l</sup> . 1682/3. Barbados. 16885. New England. 16886. ib. Do. 1691. Do. 1696. Plan <sup>a</sup> . Gen <sup>l</sup> . 1683 and } Virginia. 1685 } 1686. New England Plans. Gen <sup>l</sup> . Bermudas. 1679. New England 1682/3. Leew. <sup>d</sup> Islds. 1729/30. New Engl. 1741. New Hampshire.	<p>It has always been usual for the Crown to give Rank to new Councilors according as they stand recommended by the Lords of Trade, and it was so determined in Council upon a Memorial of Governor Clinton's relating to the Appointment of John Moore whose warrant bore date prior to the Commission of Messrs. Warren &amp; Murray who had been recommended to his Majesty prior to John Moore. vid. Order of Council 23 July 1745.</p>

## Folio 4.







Folio 5?

References when began or altered.	Abstract of the General Instructions.
1728. Barbados. 1717. Jamaica. 1730. S <sup>c</sup> Carolina.	Assembly not to adjourn themselves more than de die in diem with <sup>t</sup> Gov <sup>ts</sup> leave Councillors shall be allowed to amend money Bills ..... Assembly Men in no Case to have greater Privileges than Commoners of G <sup>t</sup> Britain.
1670. Jamaica. 1679 } 1685 } Virginia 1684. Barbados. 1670. Jamaica 1682 Barbados. 1674. Jamaica 1680 } 1732 } Barbados. 1679. Virginia 1730. South Carolina	Stile of enacting Laws and Rules for passing them.....  Rules for passing of Money Bills.....  No money to be levied without being accountable to the Treasury here..... To alter the Method of Poll Tax & lay an Impost on Liquors..... Arrears of Quit Rents to be forgiven, provided they pay for the future, and Fees also in N <sup>c</sup> Carolina, and Salaries to be paid in Proclamation Money.
1680. Barbados. 1717. Jamaica.  Do.	Directions for passing Acts for Imposts on Liquors & raising of Supplies of Gov <sup>t</sup> . No Treasurer or Commissioner for receiving publick money to be appointed by the Assemblys. Councillors to be joined with Assembly men in corrisponding with the Agents..
1674 } Barbados. 1718 } 1674. Jamaica 1697. Plan <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> 1727. New York 1720. Plan <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> 1721. Barbados 1730. S <sup>c</sup> Carolina 1740. Plan <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> 1708. Barbados. 1717. Virginia 1718. Plan <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> 1724. Jamaica. 1724. New York. 1708. New York. 1734. Jamaica.	Limitation of Laws reviving repealed Laws, & repealing Laws in being.....  Passing Acts for issuing Bills of Credit & laying out Townships in S <sup>c</sup> Carolina.. For inforcing the Act relating to foreign Coins passing in the Plantations.....  Acts of extraordinary Nature, or that effect the Trade Shipping &c of G <sup>t</sup> Britain  Rules for passing private Acts altered in 1721. Barbados I. fol. 143 & 1723 Plan <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> F. fol. 8.
1673. Jamaica 1716. Plan <sup>t</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> 1707 } 1708 } New York. 1714. Leew <sup>d</sup> Islds. 1730. S <sup>c</sup> Carolina 1679. Papers of English and Allen Plan <sup>t</sup> no. 122. 1679. Jamaica. Leew <sup>d</sup> Islands. Virginia.	To send Copies of all Laws fairly abstracted in the Margins..... All such Copies to have Dates, & the Governors Observations thereon..... To revise the Laws and send a compleat Body of them..... Secretary of the Government to furnish Copies of Laws & Journals of Councils..  Clerk of the Assembly to furnish Copies of all Votes of Assembly.....

Number of each Article to.											Memoranda.
Barbados.	Leeward Islands.	Jamaica.	Bahamas.	Bermuda.	S <sup>c</sup> Carolina.	N <sup>c</sup> Carolina.	Virginia.	New York.	New Jersey.	Massachusetts.	
20	15	14	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	<p>In 1731, an Act was passed in pursuance of this Instruction (The said Act is no. 83). 1688 Orders about granting Lands &amp; Quit Rents N<sup>c</sup> Carolina Propriety book fol. 29.</p> <p>Quere, if this should not be general to all Govern-ments.</p>
11	16	11	15	12	14	15	15	12	14	7	
12	17	12	16	13	15	16	16	13	15	8	
13	18	13	17	14	16	17	17	14	16	9	
						18	18				
14	19	14	18	15	17	19	18	15	17	10	
		17									
		19									
15	20	20	19	16	18	20	20	16	18	11	
					19						
16	21	21	20	17	21	21	17	19	12	19	<p>Fines &amp; Recoveries passed in England, cannot affect the Plantations. (Plans. Genl Bundle M., no. 21.)</p> <p>An Act was passed for all the Leeward Islds in 1705 to supply this defect.</p>
									15	21	
17							18		13	20	
18	22	22	21	18	20	22	22	19	20	14	
									16	23	
19	23	23	22	19	21	23	23	20	21	17	
21	24	24	23	20	22	25	24	21	22	18	
22	25	25	24	21	23	26	25	22	23	19	
	26				100	24					
23	27	26	25	22	24	27	26	23	24	20	
24	28	27	26	23	25	28	27	24	25	21	
										28	

Folio 6p

References when began or altered.	Abstract of the General Instructions.
<p>1717. Jamaica.</p> <p>1683. Virginia. 1702. Barbados. 1703. Do 1709. New Jersey. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl 1727. New Jersey. 1728, 1729, 1730. New land. 1697. New England. Barbados. 1729. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl</p> <p>1679. Virginia. 1691. Do 1698. Do 1727. Do</p> <p>1679. Virginia. 1683. Do 1729. Gov<sup>t</sup> Rogers's Instructions Act. 1689. Bermuda. 1729/30. New England. Jamaica. 1680. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl 1682. Barbados. 1683. Virginia. 1695. Barbados. 1707. Leew<sup>d</sup> Isl<sup>ds</sup>.</p> <p>1618. Barbados. 1707. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl 1721. Barbados. 1682. Barbados. 1698. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl Do New York. 1679. Virginia. 1680. K. James allowed it to be done without the Advice of Council 1702. Minutes of Council. Massachusetts Bay 1703. Do 1680. Barbados.</p> <p>1681/2. Virginia. 1689. Bermuda. 1727. New York. 1782. Jamaica Act.</p> <p>1730. S<sup>c</sup> Carolina.</p> <p>Virginia. 1689. Jamaica. 1698. Virginia. 1788. New York. 1717. Jamaica. 1727. Virginia. 1702. Jamaica Act.</p>	<p>About supporting the Soldiers in Jamaica.....</p> <p>No Gifts, Presents nor Grants to be made excepting House rent in some Gov- to Governors or others but to the King.} ernments.</p> <p>Governors Salaries settled, &amp; Additional Salaries allowed to some Gov<sup>t</sup>s..... Fishing for Whales to be free to all his Majesty's Subjects.....</p> <p>All Tobacco shipped in Virginia to pay Virginia Duties &amp; Naval Officers to be sworn to do justly in regard to the Duty of 2<sup>d</sup> per hogshead on Tobacco and to give an Account of their Behaviour to the Treasury and Plantation Office.</p> <p>About finishing and repairing the Governor's House..... All money levied to be lodged in the Publick Treasury.....</p> <p>Several things to be proposed to the Assembly of Bermuda..... Several irregular Proceedings of the Assembly to be redressed.....</p> <p>Governors not to come to Europe without Leave but Southern Gov<sup>t</sup>s may go Northward for recovery of health.</p> <p>Governor of Leeward Islands to reside at Antigua &amp; Visit the other Islands often. Devolution of Government &amp; Restraint of the Presidents Power when he Commands. Devolution of Government in Pennsylvania Proprieties F. fol. 147. When Lt Gov<sup>t</sup>s or Presidents command, they are to have half y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup>s Salary &amp; Perquisites.</p> <p>All publick Money to be issued by the Gov<sup>t</sup>s Warrant with Advice &amp; Consent of the Council; But the Assembly may examine Accounts of Money raised by them.</p> <p>To hold frequent Courts of Exchequer in order to recover the Rights of the Crown. Governors not to remit Fines of above £10 without the King's Leave; Nor dis- pose of Forfeitures or Escheats, without securing the Produce for the Crown.</p> <p>{The Boundaries of North &amp; South Carolina settled &amp; settling Townships on  the Frontiers of S<sup>c</sup> Carolina &amp; New Hampshire Purrysburgh included. }</p> <p>Rules for granting of Land, and reserving of Quit Rents.....</p>



Folio 7.b

References when began or altered.	Abstract of the General Instructions.
1661/2. Jamaica } 1686. Leew <sup>d</sup> Islands. }	Directions for keeping a Proportion of White Servants & Encouragem <sup>t</sup> for them.
1673. Barbados. } 1673/4. Jamaica } 1683. Barbados. }	Not to displace Judges, Justices &c without good Cause, nor to grant Commis- sions but with the Advice & Consent of Council & not for a limited time.
1681/2. Virginia } 1685. Jamaica. }	Not to erect new nor dissolve old Courts, without the Kings express Licence..
1727. Virginia } 1708 New Jersey } 1711. Leew <sup>d</sup> Islands. }	To erect a Court for the Tryal of Small Causes.....
1730. S <sup>c</sup> Carolina. }	To enquire into Grants of Offices from the late Proprietors.....
1678 Jamaica } 1703. Plant <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> } 1730. Massachusetts }	Who shall preside in the Court of Chancery in Antigua.....
1661/2. Barbados. } 1663/4 Jamaica } 1698. Virginia. }	To send an Account of all Courts, Officers and Offices, & the Charges attending them.
1684. Barbados. } 1700 D <sup>e</sup> } 1700 Plant <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> }	To regulate all Salaries & Fees, & cause Tables thereof to be sett up where payable.
1700. D <sup>e</sup> } 1709. Barbados. }	To prevent delays & undue Proceedings & cause Justice to be done in all Courts.
1679 Virginia. } 1698. } 1729. New England. }	To get Salaries settled on Judges, & Fees on their Clerks & Marshals.....
1702. Barbados. } 1707. Virginia. }	About adjourning of Courts and entering of Orders in the Journals of y <sup>e</sup> Courts..
1729. Bahama. } 1730. Carolina. }	Governor not to take higher Fees for Registering Ships, than as usual.....
1673. Barbados. } Jamaica }	Habeas Corpus to be allowed in the manner herein prescribed.....
1663. Jamaica } 1673. } 1712. Creaghs Case. }	Qualification for Jurors to be established by Acts.....
1679. Virginia. }	No Man's Life &c. to be taken away, but by known Laws nor any sent as Pris- oners to G. Britain without Proofs of their Crimes transmitted with them.)
Ib. }	To pass Laws to prevent inhuman Severities, to Servants or Slaves.....
1673. Barbados. }	All Writs shall be issued in the Kings' name.....
1679. Virginia. }	To keep the Prisons and Court Houses in good Repair.
1680. Journal vol. 3. }	To admit Appeals from Inferior Courts to y <sup>e</sup> Gov <sup>t</sup> & Council if above
1681 Virginia }	And from thence to the Crown if for above the Sum of ..
1684 Barbados. }	And to the Crown also in Cases of Fines, if for above y <sup>e</sup> sum of ..
1700. D <sup>e</sup> }	
17.. D <sup>e</sup> }	
1717 Jamaica. }	
1718 Barbados. }	
1726 Plant <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> }	
1727. Jamaica. }	

Barbados.  
Leew<sup>d</sup> Islands.  
Jamaica.  
Bahama.  
Bernards.  
S<sup>c</sup> & N<sup>c</sup> Carolina.  
N. York.  
N. Jersey.  
N. Hampshire.  
300  
50  
100  
50  
100  
100  
100  
100  
300  
200  
200  
200  
100

Number of each Article to												Memoranda.
Barbados.	Leeward Islands.	Jamaica.	Bahamas.	Bermudas.	S <sup>c</sup> Carolina	N <sup>c</sup> Carolina	Virginia	New York.	New Jersey.	Massachusetts	New Hampshire	
33	39	41	35	36	37	42	43	39	36	....	43	
34	40	42	36	37	38	43	49	40	37	....	44	
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	38	....	....	
....	41	....	....	....	....	45	....	....	....	....	....	
35	42	43	....	38	39	44	50	41	39	30	45	
36	43	44	37	39	40	46	51	42	40	31	46	
37	44	45	....	40	41	47	52	43	41	....	47	
38	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	
....	....	....	....	....	42	48	53	....	....	....	....	
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	32	....	
{ 40 to 49 }	....	{ 40 41 }	....	....	{ 43 to 52 }	{ 49 to 58 }	{ 54 to 63 }	....	....	....	....	{ This ought to be left out of S <sup>c</sup> Carolina, an Act being passed for that purpose in 1712.
....	45	46	....	....	53	60	....	44	....	....	....	{ An Act is passed in N <sup>c</sup> Carolina for this Purpose, Vide Barrington Collec <sup>t</sup> foll. 399.
39 40	{ 46 47 }	{ 47 48 }	38	41	54	59	64	45	{ 42 43 }	33	48	
41	47	....	39	42	55	61	65	46	44	34	....	Laws passed for this in Barbados, Jamaica, Vir- ginia, & New Hampsh <sup>r</sup>
50	48	49	42	43	56	62	66	47	45	35	49	
51	49	....	43	....	57	63	67	....	....	36	50	
52	50	50	44	44	58	64	68	48	46	....	51	In Bermuda, consult the confirm'd Laws. Printed Acts. fol 35. 69 &c.
52	51	50	44	45	59	65	68	48	47	....	52	
53	52	51	45	46	60	66	69	49	48	....	53	



References when began or altered.	Abstract of the General Instructions.
<p>1672. Barbados. }  1679. } Virginia. }  1685. }  1717. Jamaica. }  1718. Barbados. }  1698. Virginia. }  1699. Plan<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1721. Barbados. }  1733. Plan<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1727. Proprietors. }  Virginia. }  1729/30. New England. }  1701. New York. }  1686. New York. }  1702. New Jersey. }  1673. Jamaica. }  1639. Virginia. }  1661. Barbados. }  1677. Journal vol. 2. }  1685. New York. }  1717. Jamaica. }  1718. Barbados. }  1721. Plan<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1727. Do }  1662. Virginia. }  1730. South Carolina. }  1673. Barbados. }  1680. St Rich<sup>d</sup> Duttons. }  Inst. art 32, 33. }  1661/2. Jamaica. }  1668. Barbados. }  1679. Virginia. }  1698. Do }  1702. New Jersey. }  1690. Barbados. }  1696. Plan<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1699. Do Do }  1715. New England. }  1638. } Virginia. }  1679. }  1686. New York. }  1722. New Jersey. }  1727. Virginia. }</p>	<p>Rules for suspending Patent Officers or their Deputies, &amp; to protect them in their Rights.</p> <p>To examine into an old Complaint about y<sup>e</sup> Secretary's Office &amp; Admiralty Fees  Governors to encourage the Officers of Admiralty &amp; Customs (&amp; of the 4<sup>th</sup> per C<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> Charibbee Islands).  Custom House Officers not to serve on Juries Parochial Officers or militia....  Surveyors Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Customs to be Councillors extra- [ordinary]? in y<sup>e</sup> respective Plan<sup>s</sup>  Governors in the Absence of the Surveyors Gen<sup>l</sup> may supply Vacancies in y<sup>e</sup> Customs.</p> <p>{Governors to put in Force the Acts for Encouraging Naval Stores &amp; for the Preservation of the Woods, &amp; to assist the Surveyor Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Woods.</p> <p>To send Missionaries among the five Nations of Indians. ....  To administer or cause to be administered the State Oaths to all Persons he thinks fit.  Quakers Affirmation may serve in New Jersey even to Qualifie Assen<sup>y</sup> Men..</p> <p>To permit Liberty of Conscience to all People (except Papists) if they offend not y<sup>e</sup> Government.</p> <p>Directions about the Service of God, Parson's Glebes, Vestry, Schoolmasters, Bishop of London's Jurisdiction, Licencies for Marriages, Probates of Wills, Tables of Marriages, Punishm<sup>t</sup> of Vice, Encouragem<sup>t</sup> of Virtue &amp; Conversion of Negroes.</p> <p>{To use all the Indians well, see Justice done &amp; peace kept especially with y<sup>e</sup> Cherokees.  To enquire into Offices granted by the late Lords Proprietors.....  To send an Account of the Number of Planters &amp; Inhabitants, &amp; of their Increase.  To Cause Registers to be kept &amp; sent over of Births, Burials, Marriages &amp;c....</p> <p>To establish a Militia, but not to put in force the Law Martial without the Advice &amp; Consent of Council, and appoint good Officers on the Frontiers.</p> <p>To settle Military Discipline for such Soldiers as are sent from hence.....</p> <p>{Governor of the Massachusetts not to meddle with the Militia in Rhode Island in time of Peace except in Case of Apparent Danger.</p> <p>To incourage Trade and Alliances with the Indians.....</p>

Number of each Article to													Memoranda.
Barbados.	Leeward Islands.	Jamaica.	Bahamas.	Bermuda.	S <sup>c</sup> Carolina.	N <sup>c</sup> Carolina.	Virginia.	New York.	New Jersey.	Massachusetts.	New Hampshire.		
54	53	52	---	47	61	67	70	50	49	---	---		
							{ 71 75 }						
55	54	---	---	---	---	68							
56	55	53	46	48	62	69	72	51	50	37	54		
		54	---	---	---	---	73						
57	56	55	47	49	63	70	74	52	51	38	55		
}										39	{ 41 42 56 }		
58	57	56	48	50	64	71	76	53	52	40	57		
								53					This should be left out An Act being pass'd for that Purpose in 1727.
59	58	57	49	51	65	72	77	55	55	41	58		
60 to 66	59 to 66	58 to 64	50 to 58	52 to 59	66 to 76	73 to 82	78 to 87	56 to 65	56 to 62	42 & 43	59 & 60		
}					{ 108 110 107 }	83							
67	67	65	59	60	77	84	88	66	63	44	61		
68	68	66	60	61	78	85	89	67	64	45	62		
}	69	69	67	61	62	79	{ 86 87 }	{ 91 92 94 }	68 69 70	65 66 67	46 47 48	63 64 65	
70	70	---	62	63	---	88	93	71	72	49	66		{ An Act of Jamaica in 1681 gave great Power to the Gov <sup>t</sup> in this Case; but two other Acts passed there in 1734 & 1735 have restrained that Power.
										50	---		
							{ 96 97 }	73	---	51	76		{ All the Gov <sup>ts</sup> have Laws sufficiently provided for this.

References when began or altered.	Abstract of the General Instructions.
<p>1696. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Jamaica. }  1702. D<sup>e</sup>. }  1696. D<sup>e</sup>. }  1717. D<sup>e</sup>. }  1701. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1708. Journal H. }  1711. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }</p> <p>1673. Jamaica. }  1704. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1702. New York. }</p> <p>1661. Jamaica. }  1670. D<sup>e</sup>. }  1701. Barbados. }  1688. Bermuda. }</p> <p>1661. J. .... }  Barbados. }  1702. Leew<sup>d</sup> Islands. }</p> <p>1661. Jamaica. }  1661. Barbados. }  1673. Jamaica. }  1673. Jamaica. }  Barbados. }</p> <p>1673. }  1684. Barbados. }  1702. }  1694. Leeward Islands. }</p> <p>1685. }  1686. Bermuda. }</p> <p>1708. New York.</p> <p>1660. Jamaica. }  1732. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }</p> <p>1670. Jamaica. }  1672. Barbados. }  1721. D<sup>e</sup>. }  1672. Barbados. }  1673. Jamaica. }  1704. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1700. Plan<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> }  1689. }  1692. New York. }  1700. }</p>	<p>To execute Powers of Vice Admiralty according to his Commission for that purpose may grant Commissions to Privateers according to the Term granted in Great Britain, but not against States in Amity with his Maj<sup>y</sup> all Privateers to were Colours as herein described.</p> <p>{ To send an Account of the State of Defence of his Government with an Inventory of Stores of War in the Ports, &amp;c., and what have spent, decayed &amp;c...  { To Collect Powder, Duty upon Shipping trading to his Governments.....  { To build Storehouses for the keeping of Arms and other publick Stores.....</p> <p>To survey, repair &amp; fortify Landing Places, Ports, Harbours &amp;c.....</p> <p>To take care of Forts, keep good Watch, &amp; provide for Invalids, regulate Militia.</p> <p>The King declares he has ordered the 4<sup>th</sup> per Ct<sup>y</sup> to be applied to build Forts....</p> <p>To send a Map describing the Govern<sup>t</sup> Forts, Harbours &amp; Plantations.....</p> <p>To send an Account of the Strength of his Neighbours, be they Indians or others.</p> <p>To assist other of the English Plantations, when in distress.....</p> <p>Gen. Oglethorpe to Command the Forces in South Carolina.....</p> <p>{ To prevent Foreigners settling on S<sup>t</sup>a Lucia, Dominico, St Vincents, Tobago,  and to encourage the Natives of those or any adjacent Islands but not to  encourage Planting in any of the Islands except Barbados, and to remove the  French from S<sup>t</sup>a Lucia, And to assert the King's Right to all the Virgin  Islands.</p> <p>All Ships to anchor, load &amp; unload in Castle Harbour in Bermuda.....</p> <p>{ To encourage the Exportation of Naval Stores to this Kingdom, to preserve  Mast Trees, and other Ship Timber, and to prevent burning the Woods....</p> <p>Not to suffer the engrossing of Commodities, but to incourage Trade &amp; give  Account of Laws made, Manufactures sett up &amp;c<sup>y</sup> that may affec<sup>t</sup> the Trade  of G. Britain.....</p> <p>To encourage Merchants, &amp; others who shall bring Trade, especially African  Trade.....</p> <p>To take care that Payment for Negroes be duly made to Agreement.....</p> <p>To enquire into an old Complaint of the too frequent Adjourn<sup>t</sup> of Courts.....</p> <p>{ For Defence of the Northern Frontiers of New York.....</p>



Folio 10<sup>b</sup>

References when began or altered.	Abstract of the General Instructions.
<p>1727. } Jamaica. 1731. }</p> <p>1672. } Barbados. 1673. } Jamaica. }</p> <p>1686. Bermuda.</p> <p>1703. } Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl 1704. }</p> <p>1727. Jamaica. 1686. New York. 1717. Barbados. 1728. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl 1717. Do. Do. 1687. Jamaica. 1700. Barbados. } 1727. Jamaica. } 1686. Jamaica. 1727. Plan<sup>s</sup> Genl 1728. An Act passed this } year. } 1673. Barbados. 1684. Virginia. 1691. New England. 1715. New England.</p> <p>1702. New Jersey.</p> <p>1729. New England. 1661. Jamaica. 1673. Do. } 1673. Do. }</p>	<p>Not to pass Acts laying Duties on Felons or Slaves imported.....</p> <p>To send half yearly Accounts of Negroes imported.....</p> <p>{ To enquire about publick Lands to continue to the publick Officers their Allow- ance of Land Slaves. To Enquire after Slaves belonging to the late Compy..... All Publick money to be paid into the Treasury, All Officers to Account..... To prevent { Intelligence to Enemies by Letters from the Plantations to G. Britain. Trade &amp; Correspondence w<sup>th</sup> Enemies in Time of War.....</p> <p>Treaty of Neutrality with the French to be observed.....</p> <p>In trying Pirates the Acts for suppression of Piracy, are to be observed.....</p> <p>To assist the Receiver Genl of Admiralty Dues.....</p> <p>To erect Fairs &amp; Markets in the four Principal Towns.....</p> <p>Lord Baltimore's Pretensions to the Lands on Potomack River.....</p> <p>To appoint an Attorney Genl &amp; suffer none other to Act.....</p> <p>{ To take care that the Acts for Preservation of the Woods be complied with, and in granting of Lands, that it be for the Improvement of the Province.....</p> <p>{ To get a Law passed to confirm the Proprietors Titles..... And none but the Proprietors or their Agents to purchase Lands of the Indians. To assist the Proprietors Surveyors &amp; Agents who take the State Oaths &amp;c.. Boundaries between the Massachusetts Bay &amp; New Hampshire settled..... To send an Account of the Wants &amp; Defects of their Governments &amp;c..... To take care of the Gov<sup>t</sup> in all extra ordinary (?) Cases, with the Advice of Council, but not to Declare war without the King's Leave, except against Indians..... To Corrispond with the Secretary of State &amp; Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for Trade.....</p>

Number of each Article to												Memoranda.
Barbados.	Leeward Islands.	Jamaica.	Bahamas.	Bermuda.	S <sup>c</sup> Carolina.	N <sup>o</sup> Carolina.	Virginia.	New York.	New Jersey.	Massachusetts.	New Hampshire.	
82	92	83 84 85	73	78	89	105	109	89	93	84	77	All obsolete. See Bermuda. {125 A. fol. 14 & 235 & B. K. no. {131 132}
83	93	86	74	78	89	106	110	89	93	84	77	
84	94	87	75	79 to 83	90	107	111	90	94	84	77	
85	95	88	76	85	91	108	112	91	95	85	78	to be omitted during the War.
86	96	89	77	86	92	109	113	92	86	84	79	
87	97	90	78	87	93	110	114	93	87	85	80	
88	98	91	79	88	94	111	115	94	87	86	81	This should be left out, the Gov <sup>t</sup> having no power to grant Lands.
89	99	92	80	89	95	112	117	95	88	72	85	
90	100	93	81	90	96	113	118	96	92	71	84	
91	101	94	82	91	97	114	119	97	93	73	86	

*Abstracts of the Instructions relating*

Folio 12b.

References when begun or altered.	Abstract of the Instructions relating to the Acts of Trade and Navigation.
All these Instructions were prepared & altered by the Commiss <sup>rs</sup> of the Customs in 1685.	To take care that all Acts relating to Trade & Navigation be duly observed..
1685. Plan <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup>	All Naval Officers are to give Security to the Commissioners of the Customs...
1686. Bermuda.	No Ships but British, own'd & manned by Natives, shall trade in y <sup>e</sup> Plantations.
1697. Plan <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup>	And such Ships shall give Security to carry enumerated Goods to G. Britain or y <sup>e</sup> Plantations.
Proprieties A.	Rules to prevent Counterfeit Certificates of having given Security or discharg'd lading.
1700. Bermuda.	Payment of Duties shall not excuse bringing enumerated Goods to G. B. or Plant <sup>s</sup>
1708. New York.	To send an Account of the Trade (as per Scheme annext) to the Treasury, this Office &c.
1717. Jamaica.	No European Goods to be imported into the Plant <sup>s</sup> , but what are shipped in Great Britain.
1721. Barbados.	Rules to prevent forged Cocquets and Contraband Trade.....
1727. Proprieties.	No Laws to be allowed of in the Plan <sup>s</sup> contrary to the Acts of Trade.....
1737. Plan <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup>	Governors to assist the Officers of the Admiralty & Customs.....
	Gov <sup>rs</sup> to assist the Collectors of 6d per month out of Seamen's Wages;.....
	And the Collectors of the Customs in relation to the Act for securing the Sugar Colonies.
1729. Plans. Gen <sup>l</sup>	In all Prosecutions for illegal Trade, the Jurors shall be natives.....
1737. D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup>	All places of Trust shall be in the Hands of Natives.....
	Governors to supply Vacancies in Courts of Justice, with Persons of known Loyalty.
	Gov <sup>rs</sup> shall correspond with Commiss <sup>rs</sup> of the Customs & advise them of all Frauds.
	If any Person shall offer to sell Land to Aliens the Gov <sup>r</sup> is to give the King notice of it.
1687. Virginia. }	Rules for registering Ships to prevent foreign Ships trading under British Names.
1692. Maryland. }	To prevent the Exportation of Wool, or woollen Manufactures of the Plantations
1701. Plans Gen <sup>l</sup> }	To prevent Frauds in the Importation of Bulk Tobacco.....
D <sup>o</sup>	Officers of the Customs to be allowed the Liberty of appealing to the Crown...
D <sup>o</sup>	And the same Liberty of pleading the Gen <sup>l</sup> Issue &c. as in Great Britain.....
	Fees on such Trials payable by the Officers to be moderated, & the Officers assisted.
1717. Jamaica.	Custom house Officers not to be obliged to serve on Juries, Parish Offices, Militia &c.
1727. Virginia. }	Governors in the Absence of the Surveyor Gen <sup>l</sup> may supply Vacancies in y <sup>e</sup> Customs.
D <sup>o</sup> Proprieties. }	In all Appeals to the Crown, Execution shall be stopt, unless Security be given &c.
1726. Plan <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup>	To prevent Clandestine Trade to the East Indies, Madagascar &c.....
1721. Trade.	Negligent Governors to lose their Places & forfeit £1000 & Proprietors their Charters.
1692. Bermuda.	
1697. Plan <sup>s</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> }	
1699. Virginia }	

*to the Acts of Trade & Navigation.*

Folio 13.

No. of each Article to			Memoranda.
Islands.	Conti- nent.	Proprie- ties	
1	1	1	Upon a Complaint of Mr Brown, Judge of the Admiralty in Pennsylvania in 1730, several Reports were made thereon & an Instruction proposed to be sent to all the Gov <sup>ts</sup> to prevent Instructions from the Common Law Courts against the Judge-ments or Decrees of the Admiralty Court.
2	2	2	
3	3	3	
4	4	4	
5	5	5	But Mr Brown dying the Affair dropt, & has not been revived, tho' of great Conse- quence to the Trade of this Kingdom 1730. Plans. Genl . . . . & Proprieties H.[etc].
6	6	6	
7	7	7	
8	8	8	
9	9	9	N. B. The Article in the Genl Instructions to the King's Governors against passing Laws which may affect the Trade & Shipping of Great Britain, ought to be put in the Bonds & Instructions to Proprietary Government.
10	10	10	
11	11	11	
12	12	13	
13	13	15	
14	14	12	
15	15	14	
16	16	-----	
17	17	16	
18	18	17	
19	19	18	
20	20	19	
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22	23	28	





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IX. LINCOLN AND THE PROGRESS OF NATIONALITY IN THE  
NORTH.

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By N. W. STEPHENSON,  
*College of Charleston, S. C.*

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## LINCOLN AND THE PROGRESS OF NATIONALITY IN THE NORTH.

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By N. W. STEPHENSON.

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Browning's famous line, "We know in art how fashions end", applies also to the pursuit of history. What it was fashionable to do, and to refrain from doing, a generation ago, seems to-day as curious as hoop skirts. A capital illustration may be found in the life of Charles Francis Adams by his gifted and now lamented son. The younger Adams does not mention his father's anxieties over the purchase in England of munitions. Anything that involved slavery or secession appeared to Charles Francis II momentous. But it did not seem to him worth while, in a brief memoir, to tell his countrymen how the elder Adams, staggered by the emptiness of his country's arsenals, perceiving that it was life or death to secure, or fail to secure, munitions abroad, pledged the credit of the United States without warrant from Washington. The memoir ignores the dispatch of June 7, 1861,<sup>1</sup> in which Adams says:

Aware of the degree to which I exceed my authority by taking such a step, nothing but a conviction of the need in which the country stands of such assistance \* \* \* has induced me to overcome my scruples.

And yet this dispatch was actually in print when the memoir was published. To be sure, it was buried deep in that incomparable hodgepodge, the official records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Conceivably, no copy exists among the Adams papers. But that it was unknown to the author of the memoir is surely not conceivable. Our only explanation of his silence is the transitoriness of fashion. Slavery and secession were for the mental drawing-room those days; munitions of war were to be classed with the butcher's bill, metaphorically speaking, and left to the insignificance of the pantry.

There is another illustration of the caprice of fashion that I can not refrain from mentioning. In Mr. Rhodes's history—so large minded, so far removed from the ordinary faults of American historical writing—munitions, if I am not in error, are alluded to just once, and then casually in a quotation from Stanton. Slavery and secession fill the horizon, or are temporarily displaced in the reader's imagination by the armies with banners. On the one hand, constitutional problems; on the other, the armed conflict of heroes, "in proud battalia ranged"; these, in the fashion of hoop-skirt days,

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<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series III, Vol. I, 293.

are the things to take seriously. Not yet had it become the proper thing to ask where the heroes got their arms. You will search in vain through the acute pages of Mr. Rhodes for even the shadow, cast from a great distance, of that first real episode of the Civil War, the commercial duel in Europe to control the munitions market. No suggestion of the furious bidding against each other of northern agents and southern agents; no word of the frantic rounding up of the whole marketable stock of arms, ammunition, and supplies, until, one might almost say, both groups of agents knew where was located every available musket, every available bolt of army cloth, in England, France, Belgium, and the Germanies. Of the desperate conduct of this commercial duel, this campaign on which all the splendor of the battle depended, Mr. Rhodes has nothing to say. The three ministers who did the work for the North—Adams at London, Dayton at Paris, Sanford at Brussels—are known to him as diplomats, but are strangers to him as commercial agents. That indefatigable special agent, George L. Schuyler, who, with his heroic appetite for munitions, ranged Europe seeking what he might devour, has not even got his name into the Rhodes index. Nor have Baring Bros., whom we might call, in the fashion of a later day, the English branch of the United States Treasury. So far as Mr. Rhodes is concerned, no one would ever guess that Sanford in November, 1861, had sent home that jubilant dispatch which, for its varied implications, its testimony to commercial battle past and to victory within sight, its presage of the final northern triumph on the field of battle, its indirect forecast of the eventual southern tragedy, is without a rival among the state papers of that fateful hour.<sup>2</sup> Who in these last days of the World War could resist the impulse to quote from so momentous a document, so curiously neglected:

"I have now in my hands," Sanford writes to Seward, "complete control of the principal rebel contracts on the continent—viz: 206,000 yards of cloth ready for delivery, already commencing to move forward to Havre; gray, but can be dyed blue in 20 days; 100,000 yards, deliverable from 15th of December to 26th of January, light blue army cloth same as ours; 100,000 blankets; 40,000 guns to be shipped in 10 days; 20,000 sabre bayonets to be delivered in six weeks \* \* \*. As Mr. George P. Smith has come out about cloth, I am telegraphing for him all over Europe, and if he does not reach me by to-morrow morning my option for buying up these contracts will have expired, and it will be too late. If we can carry out the whole operation it will be the greatest victory yet over the enemy. The winter clothing for 100,000 men taken out of their hands, when they can not replace it, would almost compensate for Bull Run."

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<sup>2</sup> O. R. Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 631. See also Ordnance Report, June, 1862, in O. R., Ser. III, Vol. II, p. 85, rifles purchased in Europe, 726, 705.

I have cited this topic of munitions, not in the illusion that it was fresh knowledge, but simply because it focussed sharply the comparative bloodlessness of a point of view that is passing. Furthermore, it typifies a recent tendency to insist that Lincoln's difficulties have never been adequately portrayed; that even now we do not appreciate their magnitude. Especially, that we do not appreciate his difficulties at home.

What, then, of the opposition to Lincoln within the North? What relation, if any, has it to the general subject of the development of American nationality?

To be specific, what was the real inspiration of, for example, those extensive secret societies which all through the war seem always on the verge of a rebellion in the Middle West, which fought Lincoln so bitterly at the polls? In 1864, the chief of these, the Sons of Liberty, claimed a membership of a million.<sup>3</sup> The Government Secret Service, in its elaborate report on this society, cuts the membership in half.<sup>4</sup> Even thus, here is something which ought to have been formidable. But its formidableness is a problem of that latter-day phase of historical analysis which we are beginning to label, perhaps unnecessarily, the psychological. That is to say, a half million men consciously inspired by an abstract political idea, taking a course, because of that idea, in opposition to the majority of their neighbors—here is a phenomenon which is utterly bewildering unless we assume in its membership a high degree both of character and brains. That there were instances in the anti-Lincoln societies of men who fit this assumption, some of us know from personal experience. Among my own friends of the preceding generation is a trained scientist, a character of fine metal and a mind as clear as day, who joined during the war the Mighty Order of Minutemen, because, though a northerner, not desiring his State to secede, he was a theoretical secessionist, an antinationalist, who looked upon a sectional triumph as portending the destruction of the Commonwealth of Ohio. But was this man, with his clear-cut conscious motive, a type of them all? The elder history, reasoning unaware from conscious motive as the one source of political action, assumes that he was. Two or three things stand in the way of that conclusion. First of all, the bulk of the Sons of Liberty lacked character. Their badge ought to have been the white feather. Though they seem to have intrigued with the Confederacy, and pretty certainly formed part of the inspiration of Morgan's raid through Indiana and Ohio, they were very careful, when their mood of dreamy speculation had brought them in sight of danger, to make haste to establish an alibi. Not for them the courage of the real enthusiast. Particularly was

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<sup>3</sup> O. R., Ser. II, Vol. VII, p. 935.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



stand the dreaming pacifists of our own day? Can we not imagine certain distinguished gentlemen, and some even more distinguished ladies, taking the oath of the Pleiades in perfect seriousness?

Let us go to the other extreme, turn our eyes upon another group of Americans, also an impediment to nationalism, but who had clearer views of life, whose tongues were in their cheeks. You know what I mean when I mention the Boston Board of Trade. You remember those two documents which figure to-day in damning juxtaposition in Volume 122 of the Official Records,<sup>6</sup>—that pathetic report of the quartermaster general describing the “troops before the enemy \* \* \* compelled to do picket duty in the late cold nights without overcoats, or even coats, wearing only the thin summer flannel blouses,” and along with this report, the formal protest of the committee of the Boston Board of Trade against the purchase in Europe of clothing for the Army. Even the profiteering of the World War can not beat that! Of course to-day everybody knows what was back of it all. The new-born woolen industry was demanding its chance. Even if the war had to stand still the wool growers and the wool manufacturers must have their fling—and all in the name of patriotism, all to take care of American business. They had their fling. While the Nation groaned under its taxes, profits in wool rose to 40 per cent. But there were no more devoted nationalists, so far as words went, than these ruthless profiteers, who held up the Washington Government for their own exclusive benefit. Well might Lincoln say, “Few things are so troublesome to the Government as the fierceness with which the profits in trading are sought.”<sup>7</sup>

Is it not plain that we may attribute to the northern opposition quite other motives than those of the secessionists and yet perceive in them great obstacles to nationality? We have got in the habit of saying that North and South had been developing upon different lines during 40 years before the war, but have we followed out all the ramifications of that idea? Have we given enough consideration to the fact—obvious, it seems to me—that while the North had passed into a second stage on the road to nationalization it was still far from the ultimate stage? Though the smaller territorial units had lost their hold upon men’s imagination, though an economic community had been established, there was not yet established, when the first gun was fired in 1861, the power to effect a complete, uniform, national reaction. A wave of passion is not necessarily an expression of nationality. The fury that swept the North in 1861 deserves more analytical study than has sometimes been ac-

<sup>6</sup> O. R., Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 588-586.

<sup>7</sup> Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Nicolay and Hay, enlarged edition, Vol. IX, p. 10. (June 29, 1863.)



corded it. That, at the back of it, something in the way of a national spirit had arrived is past the question. But it was still an unsolidified sense of nationality that was cut across and broken up by disintegrating tendencies—tendencies which were producing temperamental units, class units, highly dangerous to the whole; and there was still lacking that profound spiritual cohesion which transforms a horde into a nation. To Americans in the mass, in 1861, in 1864, we might apply Meredith's famous line, "Their sense is with their senses all mixed in." And nationality is a spiritual, not a sensual, thing.

How entirely this applies to some of the most devoted antisecessionists of that day. It is one clew to the pacifist wing of the abolitionists and to such gentle dreamers as the poet Whittier. It fits perfectly the great but disordered genius of Wendell Phillips. Take his terrible orations against Lincoln. As political thunder they can not be rated too high, but as revelations of character—I will not be so rash as to suppose I can improve upon Meredith—"their sense is with their senses all mixed in."

Then, too, there is that strange assemblage of dreamers—known to-day by the name of this very city—the Cleveland convention, which put up Fremont as a candidate against Lincoln in 1864, to which Phillips wrote a letter that now his admirers would like to bury in oblivion. And I need not remind you there was no secession talk at the Cleveland convention. It stands for another obstacle to nationality, different from the moral quicksand of the secret societies, different also from the antisocial predatory consciousness of the profiteers. To sum up in one neat phrase what lay behind it were difficult. I will take the better part of valor and not attempt to do so. Nor will I undertake to say whether all the exaggerations of individualism which flourished in America in those troublous times—not only this Cleveland convention, but such other groups as the one led by Horace Greeley which was always ready to follow him on a tangent—whether all these, at bottom, had the same psychology. You observe I am dodging any discussion of the Democratic Party of those days. The subject is too complex to be treated incidentally. But, at least, one may say in passing, that whatever else it contained it had members who, like Phillips, like Greeley, stood for emotional individualism gone mad—the illegitimate modern descendants of fifth monarchy men.

And all this is but a way of saying that the North, though it had broken down men's loyalty to the smaller territorial units, the States, was still struggling with the task of creating a pervasive larger loyalty to replace the one that had been lost. The truth is, the political and economic molds in which northern life had been contained were broken up between 1830 and 1860, but the imaginative:

molds, which are so much more intimate than the political ones, were not broken up. To reconstruct certain of these molds, to make possible a new fusion of their contents, to establish a new channel for political imagination, was the great task in the development of American nationality not yet complete in 1861.

In the accomplishment of that task the colossal central figure is, of course, Lincoln. Therefore, his views on his own rôle, on the function of his office, are so intensely interesting. What, then, was Lincoln's conception of that community, not fully realized in his own day, which he calls in his messages our National Union? How did he expect the people of this Union, weltering as they were in diversity, to arise out of their confusions one nation? As an expression of their nationalism, how did he conceive his own high office?

It is a great misfortune that Lincoln has not left us a general statement of his views on any of these points. What lay back of his actions, what in time he might have formulated, we must infer, as best we can, from certain crucial events and from a relatively small number of utterances. But a few things are plain: First, his conception of the permanent form of our National Union was a federal one. If there is any belief of his that can be proved beyond peradventure from his own words it is his acceptance of the group of States as the fixed term in our political science. Lincoln was not a Hamiltonian. He did not hesitate to declare "that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States and especially the right of each State to control its domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend."<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, Lincoln conceived our National Union as preeminently a people's government. This, in spite of our literary fondness for the last sentence of the Gettysburg address, is too often forgotten. Whether we like it or not, we must see Lincoln as a statesman of the masses. Thus he conceived himself. With startling explicitness—for when was Lincoln not explicit?—he committed himself to the belief that the mass, the laborers, were the part of the Nation entitled to the greatest share of its benefits. In his speech at Cincinnati, February 13, 1861, he said, "the workingmen are the basis of all governments."<sup>9</sup> This frank utterance was expanded in the message to Congress, in December, 1861. That message was quoted and affirmed in his reply, in 1864, to certain New York workingmen who had elected him an honorary member of their order. He used, both in the message and the letter to the workingmen, these words: "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 119.

is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."<sup>10</sup> It is most significant that the two speeches made to passing soldiers in August, 1864, contain nothing upon either slavery or secession as such. Their theme is democratic opportunity. In the speech of August 18, he says:

We have, as all will agree, a free government, where every man has a right to be equal to every other man. \* \* \* There is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed. I say this in order to impress upon you, if you are not already so impressed, that no small matter should divert us from our great purpose.<sup>11</sup>

In the speech of August 22:

I happen temporarily to occupy the White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has.<sup>12</sup>

But while insisting on these radical utterances of Lincoln one must immediately qualify them by the limitations imposed by related utterances. Though Lincoln excluded aristocracy from his political vision—real artistocracy—he also excluded the political science of fairyland. In the republic of Lincoln's dream neither the Marquis of Lansdowne nor Prof. Scott Nearing would find a place to cease from troubling. For neither of these is there any consolation in Lincoln's views when displayed in their entirety. Isolated sentences might appear to attach him to either extreme. His own harmonizing of the extremes is in another passage of his letter to the New York workingmen:

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable, is a positive good to the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example insuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.<sup>13</sup>

The third main feature of Lincoln's conception of the National Union is more elusive. It is involved in his attitude toward the source and mode of political authority. He asserts the practical dictum that the majority must govern. You may say that in doing so he is conventional. Lord Charnwood in his admirable biography, so refreshingly free from the faults of certain earlier books, implies as much. I think a case could be made against the point, but it can not be made in parenthesis. However, the heart of the matter

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 51-52.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 199.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 202.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 53.

lies deeper. Lincoln was not a friend of the plebiscite or of the referendum; on the contrary, he was a staunch believer in representative government in the strict sense. Why have the champions of stable authority forgotten Lincoln's challenge to the country when refusing to yield to the clamor over military arrests? Asserting the right of the President to assume in emergency vast authority, he concludes that "if he uses the power justly, the \* \* \* people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution."<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere he asks, "Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"<sup>15</sup> Time forbids me, in this connection, to attempt to extract the true historical significance of his undeniable assumptions of arbitrary power. Enough, that in his own mind, whether rightly or wrongly, they lay outside this question; that they were to him part of the general right to wage war. Setting aside for to-day the case of Vallandigham and all the rest, what is more to the point is Lincoln's refusal in various matters not involving his military authority to make any attempt to find out the popular will; likewise his frequent disregard of the nearest approach he had to a plebiscite—the opinion of the majority of the House of Representatives. And let the blind admirers of Lincoln remember that in some of the disagreements between himself and Congress—as for example the Mexican issue—it is not proved past doubting that Lincoln was right and Congress wrong. What should hold one here is not Lincoln's wisdom, or lack of wisdom, but the boldness with which he planted himself on the idea of delegated authority. He refused to be the mere spokesman of the people. He was in his own mind their representative, on whom, for a time, certain powers had been bestowed. For that time these powers were his. Horribly reactionary, the Bolshevik would say. In a way, yes. So reactionary, in a way, that there does not exist, probably, as a summary of Lincoln's basal attitude toward his own electorate, a better statement of fundamental theory than that immortal letter to the electors of Bristol signed by Edmund Burke.

There is a fourth main feature of Lincoln's conception: It has been pointed out that most American reasoning about nationality is in terms of people. On this fact is grounded, I am told, a distinction between the poetry inspired in America by the World War and that of England. The American poets attach their loyalty to the group of people, their countrymen. The British poets, while having that, have also something more—a sense of the soil, a loyalty

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 304.

to the very earth, our mother. Lincoln in his vision of nationality had outstripped his time and had the British point of view.

"A nation," he asserts, "may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part that is of certain durability. 'One generation passeth away and another cometh, but the earth abideth forever.' It is of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this ever-enduring part."<sup>16</sup> These words are taken from the annual message of December, 1862. They are attended by a discussion of geographical predestination, as revealed by the map of the United States, which any professor of history, however self-important, might hold worthy of his genius.

It is not permissible for me to trespass longer upon your patience. So large is the subject, so intricate the psychology of that day, so profound Lincoln's creative relation to his time, that inevitably in all our minds his career is now being reconsidered; old values are fading away, new values are asserting themselves. The subject becomes almost boundless. In it the central fact seems now to be this: Lincoln's deepest significance was as a statesman of successful democracy; incidental to this he was a statesman of nationalism, laboring for cohesion in a people that were precipitating, as a chemist would say, the sense of nationality, but in whose general consciousness the precipitation was not complete.

To sum up, Lincoln encountered in the North, especially in Ohio and Indiana, something in the way of a survival of true States' rights ideas. The measure of this political force will never be known. To risk a mere dictum, the more I study it, the more it appears to shrink in quantity. The conviction grows that the economic community established in the North between 1830 and 1860 had given a death blow to geographical sectionalism. No Northern State in 1861 remained genuinely self-conscious.

However, an economic community and a true psychological community are vastly different things. Lincoln, conceiving our Federal Union as an elaborately articulated but also an entirely interdependent community, psychologically one, had to contend, at home, with the sharply separatist impulses of four groups of people, each too conscious of its own standard type to be fully conscious of the Nation as a whole. To label them, there were the rhetorical visionaries represented by the Golden Circle; the fanatics represented by Greeley; the parasites, represented then as now by the profiteers; the labor group, whose activity was obscure and can not be typified by any one familiar figure.

You may object that I am indicating types which are perpetual, that are always to be reckoned with. True. It is not the presence

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 110.

of these types that gave Lincoln's problem its significant cast. It is, first, the intensity of their limitations which rendered them unimaginative, incapable of forming ideas larger than their personal experience; second, their lack of an inherited body of ideas not limited by the traditions of their group, that stood to them as a bequest of something loftier and more authoritative than the group—the Nation. To what extent this group provincialism of Lincoln's day has been overcome is a crucial question not germane to the present topic. The historical importance of group provincialism is not to be overstated. When the leading types in a community are so limited mentally that they are overconscious of the bond uniting all specimens of the type, when they are so deficient in imagination that for them the world outside their group is a world of shadows, these types create inner communities within the apparent community and the whole has not yet achieved genuine nationality.

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X. THE STRATEGY OF CONCENTRATION OF THE CONFEDERATE  
FORCES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY IN THE  
SPRING OF 1862.

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BY ALFRED P. JAMES,  
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## THE STRATEGY OF CONCENTRATION OF THE CONFEDERATE FORCES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY IN THE SPRING OF 1862.

By ALFRED P. JAMES.

Concentration in warfare, at least in practice, is not at all a recent idea. On the contrary, it is practically as old as recorded military history. In fact, nearly 5,000 years ago, in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf, a Sumerian city king had organized his infantry in phalanx formation,<sup>1</sup> or, in other words, had adopted the idea of concentration in tactics. Less remote ancients—Persians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans—made frequent use of both the tactics and strategy of concentration. Even the so-called Dark Ages furnish many examples of application of what, in the course of time, had become not only the practice but the principle of concentration in warfare. It is not necessary to be specific, for the facts are everywhere accessible, and only tedium would result from any attempt to trace with the greatest brevity the application of this principle throughout the centuries. However, it is necessary in this paper to give a moment's consideration to the Corsican child of destiny—Napoleon Bonaparte—whose influence has vitally affected all later warfare and all later military theory. The strategy and tactics of concentration were the foundation of the military successes of this remarkable man, whom an Oxford tutor of mine, in a private conversation, described as "the sole outstanding personality of the first half of the nineteenth century." As we know, Napoleon obtained his ideas of strategy and tactics, partly at least, from profound study of the past. In early manhood he pored over the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. He read eagerly and carefully Plutarch's *Lives* and Caesar's *Gallic Wars*. Of modern masters of military art he made a particular study of Marlborough and Frederick the Great. Inevitably he found striking examples of the application of this principle of concentration and he profited by his studies.

The location of his artillery at a vital central spot on the 13 Vendemiare illustrates Napoleon's early use of the principle of concentration. Concentration, in either strategy or tactics or in both, characterizes the majority of his campaigns. It is seen in Italy in 1797 and in 1800; along the Danube in 1805 and 1809; in Prussia in

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 120.

1806; in Russia in 1812; and, above all, in France in the memorable campaign of 1813-14. It is true that at times Napoleon violated the principle of concentration. The failure to withdraw his garrisons from the German fortresses in 1813 can be cited by way of example. But on the whole he was an exponent of the principle of concentration. At his fall he left behind not only the example of his campaigns and battles but written exposition of his maxims of war.

One of the most significant exhibits in the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Va., is a small volume entitled "Napoleon's Maxims of War," which on the death of Stonewall Jackson was found in his haversack. Jackson, the greatest of the strategists in the Confederate Army, was essentially Napoleonic in his warfare.

"Concentrate to fight; unity of command is necessary to success; time is everything."<sup>2</sup> Such are the maxims of Napoleon. I believe that few campaigns in history are more valuable as a study of the application and validity of these maxims than that of the Confederate armies in the Mississippi Valley in the first half of the year 1862.

For political and economic reasons of great validity, which President Davis saw very clearly, and the recognition of which involved him in serious quarrels with some of his generals, the Confederate forces in the winter of 1861-62 were scattered across southern Kentucky and northern Tennessee. Polk was at Columbus, Ky., on the Mississippi; insignificant forces were at Forts Henry and Donaldson on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the department, was stationed at Bowling Green, Ky., watching Buell. Small and scattered Confederate forces were in east Tennessee and southwest Kentucky.

Facing the Confederates were greatly superior numbers. Halleck, in the spring of 1862, commanded in the West, according to his own estimate, about 270,000 men.<sup>3</sup> Against these it is doubtful if the Confederates could have opposed much more than a third of this number, even when various forces in Arkansas, along the Mississippi, at Mobile and Pensacola, and along the Atlantic coast as far north as the North Carolina-Virginia frontier, are included.

In the Confederate line in southern Kentucky and northern Tennessee there was a weak but vital spot. This was where the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers opened up a waterway to Nashville and as far south as Alabama. In the preceding autumn forts had been begun at the point where the rivers approach each other. The importance of the point was well understood, by some at least. Gideon Pillow, on December 11, 1861, had written to W. W. Mackall, assistant adjutant general to Albert Sidney Johnston, warning him that

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Rose, *Rev. En.*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 649.

the enemy would ignore Columbus, Ky., and make a heavy attack upon Fort Henry.<sup>4</sup>

It was at this weak but vital spot that Grant broke through in the middle of February. The loss of Forts Henry and Donaldson forced the Confederates to fall back all along the line. Albert Sidney Johnston for a time was overwhelmed by the disaster and by the unsparing criticism which fell upon his head. At the time, he was most severely criticized for the loss and abandonment of Kentucky and central Tennessee. The very bitterness of this in 1862 is evidence of the strength of the considerations which led him to accept the policy of territorial defense. Critics of a later date have largely dwelt upon his violation of the principle of concentration. That his strategy was of the highest type certainly can not be maintained. He probably erred in a timely and proper valuation of the vital spot in the Confederate line of defense. Roman,<sup>5</sup> the biographer of Beauregard, credits him with a sound opinion on this matter early in February, 1862; but it was too late then to prevent a calamity. He also made a poor selection of men to defend this vital spot, even though it be admitted that his choice was very limited.

After the event, concentration appeared to all as the only available policy. Roman, of course, gives Beauregard credit for the earliest advocacy of concentration in the Mississippi Valley. I am not convinced from the official records that anyone in particular was largely responsible for the origin of this suggestion, which would naturally occur, in time, to everyone. Bragg, from Mobile, wrote to the Government on February 15, urging concentration in Kentucky.<sup>6</sup> Benjamin in reply, on February 18, claimed this as the proposed policy of the administration, saying: "We had had in contemplation the necessity of abandoning the seaboard in order to defend the Tennessee line."<sup>7</sup> In a letter to R. E. Lee, on February 24, Benjamin wrote: "The railroad line from Memphis to Richmond must be defended at all hazards."<sup>8</sup> Even Albert Sydney Johnston in his report on the evacuation of Nashville, dated February 25, advanced the idea of concentration in the assertion of his intention of going to Mississippi by way of Decatur.<sup>9</sup>

But, discounting Roman's narrative, as one inevitably will, the case of G. T. Beauregard seems worthy of special consideration. Acting on general orders issued late in January, Beauregard had left Virginia for a command in the Mississippi Valley. Having arrived at Bowling Green, Ky., on February 4, he was, after some conferences, assigned to command at Columbus, Ky. By reason

<sup>4</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VII, p. 758.

<sup>5</sup> Roman, *Military Operations of Beauregard*, Vol. I, pp. 214-215.

<sup>6</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VI, p. 826.

<sup>7</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VI, p. 828.

<sup>8</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VI, p. 398.

<sup>9</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VII, p. 427.

of his rank of general, which had been awarded for his work at Manassas, he was second in command in the West under Albert Sidney Johnston.

Of all the Confederate commanders Beauregard was the clearest theoretical advocate of the strategy of concentration. Previous to the first battle of Manassas he had formulated strategical ideas of concentration which were presented to President Davis and which, though not adopted until it was evident what the enemy would do, had led to the junction of the forces of Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, and Holmes, which later made victory possible. The quarrel about this matter which later arose between Beauregard and Davis may be ignored here.

Beauregard's correspondence throughout the war is full of the theory of concentration. By way of example, in a letter to Dabney F. Maury, in June, 1863,<sup>10</sup> he wrote:

The true motto of every general should be, "United we stand, divided we fall," and the essence of the art of war is to concentrate on the proper point at the right time.

On his transfer to the Mississippi Valley Beauregard followed consistently his theory of concentration. From the records much credit must be given him in connection with the organization leading up to the battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing. When, by reason of the fall of Forts Henry and Donaldson, Albert Sidney Johnston, his superior, fell back from Bowling Green, Ky., to Nashville, Tenn., and from Nashville through Murfreesboro to Shelbyville, Beauregard drew back Polk and Pillow from Columbus, Ky., urged upon Van Dorn in northwest Arkansas the necessity of bringing his forces across the Mississippi,<sup>11</sup> made strong appeals to the governors and citizens of the threatened States,<sup>12</sup> and impressed upon Albert Sidney Johnston the vital necessity of concentration at Corinth.<sup>13</sup> At this time Beauregard suffered greatly from a severe affection of the throat, brought on by exposure in northern Virginia in the preceding autumn and winter. His activity, in this state of his health, was really remarkable, if we can judge by the extent of his correspondence.

If ever the strategy of concentration was employed to a remarkable extent in warfare it was done by Johnston and Beauregard in the Mississippi Valley between the middle of February and the first of April, 1862. Van Dorn and Price were summoned from northwest Arkansas, Bragg was called up from Mobile and Pensacola, and Mansfield Lovell was persuaded to send most of his forces from New Orleans. The available seasoned troops of the Confederacy were

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<sup>10</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XXVIII, pt. II, p. 160.

<sup>11</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 771.

<sup>12</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VII, p. 900.

<sup>13</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VII, p. 896.

gradually concentrated at Corinth. By strenuous effort about 40,000 men were assembled by April 1. Grant's failure to make a rapid counter-concentration gave the Confederates the chance of success.

"Concentrate to fight"; "unity of command is necessary to success"; "time is everything." The Confederates had carried out splendidly the first of these maxims of Napoleon. On the two latter they fell down.

It was expected to march from Corinth to Shiloh in time to open the battle at dawn on April 5; but severe rains made the roads muddy, the quartermaster's department was poorly equipped for such an emergency, and the staff work was faulty. On one occasion hours were lost at a crossroads while one corps crossed the route of another. Time, which in this particular case was truly everything, was irretrievably lost. It was not until the dawn of April 6 that Johnston, having moved about 20 miles from Corinth to Shiloh Church, was ready to fall upon the five isolated divisions left by Grant upon the west side of the Tennessee River. The battle which followed was the first really great battle upon the continent. No such large bodies of men had before grappled upon American soil. It was an undreamed-of experience for commanders and men alike.

I shall not go into details concerning the struggle, but the temptation to quote a sentence in Beauregard's report is too strong: "Like an Alpine avalanche our troops moved forward, despite the determined resistance of the enemy, until after 6 p. m.," wrote Beauregard.<sup>14</sup> The phrase, "until after 6 p. m.," is important in throwing light on the old but intensely interesting problem of the failure of the Confederates to push home their attack on the evening of April 6. The report<sup>15</sup> of Maj. R. T. Harvey, Second Arkansas Infantry, "We then retired, it being 6 p. m.," confirms Beauregard's statement. In no other report is there a definite statement as to the hour. As a reason for his failure to continue the battle after this hour, Beauregard gave the exhaustion of his men after 12 hours of fighting without food, when already jaded by the muddy march from Corinth.<sup>16</sup> Some gave the fire of the gunboats as a reason. This from a careful study of the war I am inclined to discount. In the language of the report of Col. George Maney, who faced this fire from the gunboats on that day, it was "more noisy than destructive."<sup>17</sup> His statement is fortified by a letter of W. H. C. Whiting, one of the ablest engineers in the Confederate Army, to a newspaper in regard to a similar occasion in Virginia waters. Direct gunfire by gunboats upon infantry he held to be alarming but not very dangerous. For the

<sup>14</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 386.

<sup>15</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 577.

<sup>16</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 387.

<sup>17</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 455.

failure of the Confederates to advance farther I have seen given as a reason the reorganization of a portion of Grant's artillery and infantry upon a final line of defense. Really, if one cause must be cited above all others, it was the accidental loss of unity and continuity of command through the unforeseen death of Albert Sidney Johnston. The second maxim of Napoleon, above quoted, was not maintained, though destiny was at least partially responsible for its miscarriage.

On the night of April 6 fresh troops under Buell came up to join the forces of the Union Army. Grant did heroic work in the reorganization of his line on the west banks of the river. Outnumbered and defeated, Beauregard fell back toward Corinth on the afternoon of April 7. Here he was joined by Van Dorn, who had crossed the Mississippi at Memphis, but who did not join the concentration in time to engage in the decisive battle of the campaign. Along the Charleston and Memphis Railroad, which passed through Corinth, Beauregard threw up fortifications to defend this highly important center. For nearly two months the Confederate and Union armies faced each other in this region. Finally, when Halleck had raised his forces at this point to 100,000 men, and was at last ready to besiege Corinth, Beauregard, on the advice of his subordinates,<sup>18</sup> withdrew to Tupelo, Miss., about 40 miles to the south. The unsanitary conditions of the encampment, poor water, and much sickness were given as reasons for this retirement.<sup>19</sup>

This retreat to Tupelo marked the end of the Confederate campaign of the first half of 1862. Halleck did not pursue. A summer interlude in this unhealthy region resulted, to be followed by Grant's Mississippi campaign and Bragg's remarkable movement into Tennessee and Kentucky.

In the failure at Shiloh the whole purpose of the earlier concentration of the Confederate forces was defeated.

Now come up for consideration the concomitant aspects of the concentration so thoroughly carried out in this campaign. A long paper would be required for an adequate discussion of these. Political, economic, and military affairs were alike affected, and, as usual in warfare, these affairs were inextricably commingled. Only a partial consideration of them is possible. Much must be omitted and great gaps left in the treatment.

Across the Mississippi River, in Missouri and Arkansas, important results followed the concentration at Corinth. The seasoned troops needed for the defence of this valuable source of supplies for the Confederacy were drawn away under Van Dorn and Price. Not until nearly a year later was a mere remnant of these returned to the

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<sup>18</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 762.

<sup>19</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, pt. II, p. 545.

trans-Mississippi department, under Price,<sup>20</sup> whose main interest was in Missouri and whose wishes to be returned to the west bank of the Mississippi were for a long time overridden. Missouri and northern Arkansas were thus lost to the Confederacy. Had it not been for the hills and the east and west rivers of Arkansas, which made north and south communications difficult, it is probable that all Arkansas would have been overrun. As it was, southern Arkansas, by reason of droughts and the predominance of the cotton crop, was of little value to the Confederacy during the war.

Elsewhere the story is much the same. On the withdrawal from the bluffs at Columbus, Ky., in February, the Confederate forces closing the Mississippi from the north, fell back down the river to Madrid Bend, New Madrid, and Island No. 10, places of greatly inferior strength. Neither the ability of the commanders<sup>21</sup> nor the character of the forces placed at those points seems to have been fortunate. The best of everything was concentrated at Corinth. In March and April these places were easily captured by Pope with the assistance of the fleet of gunboats. On March 14 Pope wrote Halleck from near New Madrid: "To my utter amazement the enemy hurriedly evacuated the place last night, leaving everything."<sup>22</sup> On April 8 he was able to announce:

Everything is ours. Few, if any, of the enemy escaped. Three generals, 6,000 prisoners, an immense quantity of ammunition and supplies, 100 pieces of siege and several batteries of field artillery, great numbers of small arms, tents, wagons, horses, etc., have fallen into our hands. We have not lost a man in crossing the river or in pursuing and capturing the enemy."

From these points the Confederates fell back nearer to Memphis and fortified Fort Pillow, the last place of any strength above Memphis. This point was held as long as Beauregard remained at Corinth. When early in June Beauregard drew back to Tupelo, Fort Pillow and Memphis fell into the possession of the Union forces. The Mississippi River was opened up as far as the neighborhood of Vicksburg. The railroad line from Memphis to Richmond, which Benjamin wanted defended "at all hazards," was permanently cut by the loss of these places.

At the lower end of the Mississippi River equally important events occurred. For the concentration at Corinth, Lovell had sent off his available seasoned troops. A result was that his defensive forces were dangerously weakened. Just at this time an armament under Farragut and Butler attacked the defenses of New Orleans. Mismanagement, particularly in the restoration of the boom which had been swept away by floods, and the divided command of land and naval defenses, were a partial cause of the disaster which followed,

<sup>20</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XXII, pt. II, p. 791, Feb. 27, 1863.

<sup>21</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 138.

<sup>22</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 613.



but the insufficiency of numbers and the character of the defenders proved fatal. In his official report Lovell, with some self-control, remarked:

I will here state that every Confederate soldier in New Orleans, with the exception of one company, had been ordered to Corinth to join Gen. Beauregard in March, and the city was only garrisoned by about 3,000 90-day troops called out by the governor at my request, of whom about 1,200 had muskets and the remainder shotguns of an indifferent description.<sup>23</sup>

For the loss of New Orleans Lovell was later tried by a military court. The finding of the court substantiated this statement of Lovell in the following language:

His ability to hold that line against such an attack was greatly impaired by the withdrawal from him by his superior authority of nearly all his effective troops.<sup>24</sup>

In the light of these statements is it too much, therefore, to say that the loss of New Orleans was part of the price paid for the concentration at Corinth? If so, it was a dear price for the success actually attained, for New Orleans, once lost, was never recovered, and it served as a base for the attempt to complete the opening of the Mississippi River from the south the following winter and year. By its fall another route connecting the Confederacy was cut, and a most favorable place for blockade running lost to the South.

In conclusion, concentration is unquestionably a sound tenet of military strategy. But, whatever the merit of concentration in the abstract, does not the history of this campaign show that it has very definite limitations? Counter considerations of great importance certainly existed in the Confederacy in the first half of 1862. A natural objection to this interpretation of the campaign is that the obvious alternative of scattered defense along territorial lines was still worse. But this obvious alternative was not the only solution. Concentration must have certain definite concomitants. Complete and continuous unity of command and intense activity must go with the strategy of concentration. "Time is everything." Rapidity of movement should characterize the concentration and the blow of the forces thus concentrated; and to use an expression very popular at the present time, the blow must be followed through. When the blow fails, as it did in this case, the counter considerations at once are sacrificed or endangered.

Concentration within limits and when necessary, and the utilization to full advantage of interior lines, in conjunction with audacity, activity, and aggressiveness, would seem to have been the best strategy for the Confederacy, not only in this campaign, but throughout the war between the States.

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<sup>23</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VI, p. 513.

<sup>24</sup> O. R., Ser. I, Vol. VI, p. 641.

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XI. POSSIBILITIES OF INTENSIVE RESEARCH IN  
AGRICULTURAL HISTORY.

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By R. W. KELSEY,  
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## POSSIBILITIES OF INTENSIVE RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURAL HISTORY.

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By R. W. KELSEY.

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### I. INTRODUCTION.

This paper proposes a brief inquiry into the intensive as contrasted with the extensive study of agricultural history.

Extensive study in this field has long been in evidence. Outstanding facts in various periods, or important movements and conditions covering a considerable area or epoch, are a commonplace in American history. Examples in point are the influence of the plantation system in the South, the effect of the new harvesting implements in the wheat area, the reaction of the farming community to various forms of the cheap money propaganda. Just now we have before our eyes the possibility of a fundamental transformation of farming conditions through the general introduction of the automobile and the tractor into the economy of rural life. Such influences, movements, and changes are writ large, and he that runs may read. It is probable, however, that many very important influences of agriculture upon the main currents of American life can not be discovered until a goodly amount of intensive research in various fields of agricultural history has been accomplished. A very slight contribution to such results is here made as the outcome of some tentative excursions into the history of agriculture in early Pennsylvania.

### II. METHOD.

So many students of history are now entering this field of study that some exchange of ideas on method should be helpful.

The present writer has adopted a combined system of small note slips and large sheets. Short notes are taken in full on the small slips. The large sheets carry the fuller material. The matter on the larger sheets is, however, indexed on the smaller slips. Thus the file of small slips, arranged by topics, and in chronological order within each topic, is at all times a complete compendium of the ma-

terial gathered to date. The notes thus far taken have fallen within 12 main topics, as follows:

- I. Soils.
- II. Tools.
- III. Crops.
- IV. Live stock.
- V. Farm practice: Methods and results.
- VI. Farm industries and business.
- VII. Manners and customs.
- VIII. Population.
- IX. Farmers and the Government.
- X. Farmers' organizations.
- XI. Epochal events.
- XII. Miscellaneous.

Most of these general topics have fallen into subtopics as the note taking proceeded.

Topic VII on manners and customs has, for example, developed the following subtopics: (*a*) General; (*b*) Home, social life, amusements, temperance; (*c*) Churches and schools; (*d*) Roads, bridges, travel, taverns; (*e*) Neighborhood industries; (*f*) Hunting and fishing; (*g*) Indian relations; (*h*) Labor and wages; (*i*) farm buildings.

Most of the topics have not developed so many subtopics as this one, but the 12 main divisions indicated above have brought forth thus far 72 rubrics altogether, making an average of six subtopics for every topic.

### III. MATERIALS.

#### (*a*) SECONDARY WORKS.

Secondary material on the history of agriculture in Pennsylvania is conspicuous by its absence. In the many general histories that have been written there is almost nothing on this subject. In the special histories of counties and towns, of sects, or racial elements there is surprisingly little. The greatest exception to the rule is found in the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society. Agriculture has been a fundamental occupation in all ages of human history. Throughout the colonial period in Pennsylvania a very large majority of the inhabitants were engaged in it exclusively. Yet in the histories of Pennsylvania this great phase of life is passed over in almost complete silence.

#### (*b*) PRINTED SOURCES.

When the historian's hand is set to the source materials the story is very different.

The laws of Pennsylvania alone open a great mine of information. As early as 1683 a fine of £5 was levied for allowing a stallion less

than 13½ hands high to run at large.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this and later enactments of a similar nature account in part for the great size and strength of Pennsylvania horses, as noted by so many travelers in the later period.

The food control act of our late war had an early precedent in Pennsylvania history. As early as 1693 a law was passed requiring every baker to have a distinct mark on his bread. The size and weight of loaves were also regulated and the price fixed in accordance with the price of wheat per bushel.<sup>2</sup> These and many similar regulations bore directly, or indirectly, upon the development of agriculture.

The Pennsylvania Archives and the Records of the Council contain a great amount of miscellaneous material, ranging from regulative laws to discussions about the Hessian fly.

The volume by Albert Cook Myers in Dr. Jameson's series of Original Narratives contains reprints of great value on the subject in hand. The amount that can be included in such a volume is of course quite limited, but in this case it is so carefully selected as to be of great value in itself and to suggest the type of material to be sought after in further study.

The earliest newspapers contain little material other than current prices of farm products in the Philadelphia market. In 1729 the Pennsylvania Gazette decided to encourage its country readers by reprinting an article on hemp from Chambers's Universal Dictionary.<sup>3</sup> This ambitious effort surely did not increase subscribers, for the policy was at once discontinued. After the Revolutionary War, under the impulse of the Philosophical Society and the Agricultural Society, the papers contain many articles on fertilizers, tillage, crop rotations, and general farm practice.

A most important division of the printed source material is of course that of early travel. Happily there were several travelers in Pennsylvania who were especially interested in agriculture, and they have left a mass of interesting and valuable data on many phases of farm life and methods. Brissot de Warville, Crèvecoeur, Lincklaen, Mellish, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and Schoepf are examples in point.

What better material could historian desire than the following from Schoepf, in 1783:

Hereabouts (in southern Bucks County) there is a seeding plough in use and highly regarded, which is known as the Bucks County plough. Elsewhere the wheat is seeded on fallow broken but once, and then the seed ploughed

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<sup>1</sup> Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania passed between 1682 and 1700, p. 164; see also pp. 167, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania passed between 1682 and 1700, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 9, 1729, p. 1.

in. The allowance is one-half to one bushel of seed to an acre, according as the wheat is old or new, if new a half bushel is sufficient. They commonly expect, from three-fourths of a bushel seed on unmanured land, 10-15 bushels yield, but in other parts of Pennsylvania, about Reading and in the Tulpehocken Valley, the yield is 25-30 bushels. A four-horse wagon hauls 40-50 bushels of wheat to the city, the price at this time being one Spanish dollar a bushel, or 7 shillings 6 pence Pennsylvania current. What with the quantity of land many farmers own, they can not work the whole of it properly, and therefore many acres lie fallow 5-6-7 years together. The usual practice is to plant maize the first year; the second year wheat is sown along with English grass seeds; and after the wheat is off, the field is pastured for four or five years. At other times they sow buckwheat (one-half bushel to the acre) after wheat, or it may be turnips.<sup>4</sup>

Here in one paragraph is poured forth information on seeding implements and methods, amount of seed per acre, amount of yield in various places, transport of crops to market, prices received, various forms of money and its comparative value, fallow practice on the farm, and rotation of crops. While such a paragraph is above the average in works of travel, it is by no means unique.

Finally, under the heading of printed sources, must be mentioned American Husbandry (1775) in two volumes, and the Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1808, 1811, 1814. These volumes are a mine of information, most of which is not to be found elsewhere.

#### (c) MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.

In the far-flung domain of manuscripts the material is so limitless that the merest intimation of its extent and variety can be given at this early stage of the quest.

In the Library of Congress, the State Library of Pennsylvania, and the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia are great stores of material, including the almost untouched shelf loads of transcripts from English archives.

A morsel from the last-named collection is William Penn's testimony to the board of trade, in 1700, on the workings of the inter-colonial trade laws. One such law prohibited the sale and transport of wool from one colony to another. Consequently a farmer would sell his entire flock of sheep to a merchant across the border. The sheep would then be driven over, shorn of their wool, and sold back immediately to the original owner at a price formerly agreed upon.<sup>5</sup> So the Pennsylvania farmer dealt as cleverly with the English trade laws as did the merchant of New England.

A great increase in the production of tobacco in Pennsylvania may be discovered in a study of the same sources. In 1699 Col. Quarry,

<sup>4</sup> Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, 1783-1784, I, 180.

<sup>5</sup> Board of Trade Papers, *Proprieties*, VI, Dec. 8 and 13, 1700 (*Hist. Soc. of Penns.*).

admiralty judge in Pennsylvania, wrote to the board of trade as follows:

The greate price yt tobacco yealds here encouredges the Country to plant more than ever [;] itt hath beene sold here this year for above thirty Shillings pr. [c. ?] lb.

A few months later he remarked to the board of trade, on the industry of Pennsylvania farmers, and continued:

They have improved tilledge to that degree that they have made Bread flower and Beer a drug in all the Markets in the West Indies, so that finding that Trade overdone they resolve to goe on w<sup>th</sup> the planting of Tobacco in the three upper Countys where never any was planted yet.

With these clues as to the increase of tobacco culture at this period it is not surprising to find William Penn writing in December, 1700:

We shall this year advance from 1500 Hogsh<sup>d</sup> to 3 or 4000 of tobacco.\*

Some idea of the extent of such sources may be gained from the statement that the Penn manuscripts are in 190 large volumes, the Logan in 73 volumes, the Pemberton in 70, and the Norris in 75. All of these furnish valuable material on agricultural history, and many other sets not yet examined contain from 20 to 100 volumes each.

Aside from these outstanding collections there are, of course, miscellaneous papers, almost limitless in number, kind, and location. Such papers are in the libraries mentioned above, in other libraries of Pennsylvania and adjoining States, and in collections of local historical societies all over Pennsylvania. There are the land and probate records in every county. There is also, of course, much untouched material in various local archives in Great Britain and continental countries. The present writer is now making some search of libraries and private collections in western Germany to locate letters and diaries written by early emigrants to Pennsylvania. The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution is having a survey made of materials for American history in the West Indian archives, and some report on this work is to be made by Prof. Bell at one of the sessions of this conference. The same department of the Carnegie Institution is preparing a compendium of entries bearing upon American history, in the catalogues of foreign manuscript collections. All such compilations are sure to uncover material concerning early agricultural history in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

One example may be cited of the discoveries of entirely new material that will come on occasion if a subject of this kind is pursued intensively. Some months ago a little pocket journal was found in the Library of Congress. It was written in a very small, almost

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\*For above letters of Quarry and Penn; see Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, III, 267; V, 257; VI, Dec. 8 and 13, 1700 (Hist. Soc. of Penna.).



microscopic hand, much of it nearly illegible. It had been purchased from a Paris dealer and had lain in the library for nearly a score of years, untranslated and practically untouched. Although it was entirely anonymous a careful study of internal evidence proved it to be a journal kept by Theophile Cazenove, in a journey from New York City across Jersey into central Pennsylvania and back to Philadelphia, in 1794. Cazenove was at that period the general agent of the Holland Land Co. in America, and so his prime interest was in farming lands. As a consequence his journal is a mine of information on the agricultural conditions of that day. He tells in the utmost detail of crops, live stock, seeding and tillage methods, rotations, transportation and sale of crops, labor conditions, wages, and prices, and above all the social conditions of country life.

A touch of Cazenove's pen may not be out of place on this paper. While passing through Maxatawny township, Bucks County, Pa., he wrote:

Generally an acre of land produces 20 bushels of wheat, 25 bushels of barley, 25 to 30 bushels of buckwheat, 1½ to 2 tons of hay each cutting, 1½ to 2 tons of clover, two cuttings, and then turn the cattle in; a little corn [raised]. Plowing is done with horses, but the custom of plowing with oxen is gaining more and more.

They generally sow wheat. The Hessian fly is very detrimental to them. For fertilizer manure is used. Plaster of Paris is very good for clover the first two years, but they find out that it uses up the land.

A good 300-acre farm is offered for sale near here; fair house, very good barn, near the river; 60 acres meadow, 280 tillable, 10 woods; excellent land, for 4,000 pounds cash.

A glimpse of the social life of Lancaster and vicinity is given in the following paragraph:

During the fair, which lasts for three days in June, and while court is held (which is once every three months) all the county farmers and their children come to Lancaster, and then everything is good cheer. All the young farmers and their wives must have pleasure, as they have none the rest of the year; people say that nothing is more interesting than their loud joy and the big kisses exchanged everywhere by the sweethearts who fill the streets. So the young people have a chance to see each other and marriages follow, while the fathers get drunk in the taverns.

The thrift of the German farmers showed its seamy side to this aristocratic traveler, as witness the following:

In the Downingtown Inn, Chester County, where I spent the night, there were that same evening 14 Lancaster farmers; each one was driving a big 4-horse wagon, with 12 barrels of flour, to Philadelphia. I found them in a room next to the kitchen, all lying on the floor in a circle, their feet to the fire, each one on one or two bags of oats which they have with them to feed the horses on the way. They were covered with poor blankets; no caps, and all dressed. This lodging did not cost them anything, the innkeeper gave them this shelter to be

able to sell them the small quantity of liquor they buy. In this group there were farmers known to be worth from 6,000 pounds to 8,000 pounds in good land, and in money lent on mortgage upon good lands.<sup>7</sup>

### III. RESULTS.

These pages have touched very lightly and inadequately upon some of the possibilities, in method and materials, of the intensive study of localized agricultural history.

The results of such study might ultimately appear in various forms. Specialized articles could be written on the history of any important phase of farm practice. New light could be thrown upon many critical periods of political history, showing the reaction of the farming community to and upon the events of the time. Social histories could be written, compassing the whole round of country life, economic, social, educational, and religious. Finally, the general history of a State or a section could be rewritten, filling in that important background of rural life, so fundamentally important to the picture, yet so largely omitted in almost every history.

These are some of the possibilities of intensive research in agricultural history, as pursued in a restricted field of time or place. Such studies must be the scaffolding for the more extensive surveys and generalizations that will ultimately build the story of country life into the growing structure of American history. The intensive study should not be called more important than the extensive. They are mutually supplementary, not competitive in their nature. The intensive study is different in kind, essential in its place, and alluring to a degree.

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<sup>7</sup> Cazenove, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Amérique du Nord*, 1794, pp. 21, 47, 61. In Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.



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## XII. SOME FEATURES OF TOBACCO HISTORY.

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## SOME FEATURES OF TOBACCO HISTORY.

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By GEORGE K. HOLMES.

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The purpose of this paper is not to give a history of tobacco, for that would be impossible within a short time limit, but the purpose is partly to correct some popular misunderstandings, partly to supply some interesting features not generally known, and partly to indicate very briefly some lines of an historical narrative.

### USED BY INDIANS.

At the time of the discovery of America, the custom of smoking tobacco, of chewing it, and of snuff taking—that is, of using it in some way—was diffused over the greater part of this vast continent between the southern part of South America and the boreal regions of North America. The Indians of the West Indies and of South America smoked cigars and cigarettes and took snuff, except in the district of La Plata, Uruguay and Paraguay, where no form of tobacco was used until the Spaniards introduced it. From the Isthmus of Panama and the West Indies to southern Canada and to California, smoking was practiced by the Indians, and circumstances show that this was of ancient origin.

Why did the Indians use tobacco? It will not do to interpret a custom of another people and of ancient times in terms of ourselves and of our own times. It is a false picture to think of the Indian as smoking his after-dinner pipe, or cigar, or cigarette, or as biting off a chew of navy plug as he paused in the cultivation of his corn. The tobacco plant was indigenous to America and the Indian must have used it before he raised it in his garden, and this he was doing when the white people first saw him.

The primary service of tobacco to the Indians was of a religious nature. Before the Spaniards came it was not used as a habit nor for the sake of sociability. Rather, it was related to the unseen world. To the Indians of what is now the United States, the tobacco plant had a sacred character; it was almost invariably used on solemn occasions, accompanied by suitable invocations to dreaded spirits. It was ceremonially used to aid in disease or distress, to ward off danger, to bring good fortune, generally to assist one in need, and to allay fear.

The planting of medicine tobacco was one of the oldest ceremonies of the Crows, consisting, among other observances, of a solemn march, a foot race among the young men, the planting of seed, the building of a hedge of green branches around the seed bed, a visit to the sweat house, followed by a bath and a solemn smoke, all ending with a feast.

In Virginia, tobacco was believed to be a special gift from the realm of the departed. The leaves were arranged in a circle, from the center of which adoration was offered to the sun, accompanied by eccentric gestures and contortions of the body, by dancing, stampings, and uplifting of the hands and by fixed starings toward the sky. The object was to propitiate an evil intelligence. When crushed into powder, tobacco was sowed to the wind when a drought prevailed or when a tempest was blowing on the water; or it was sprinkled over the weirs when fishes began their annual migration from the sea. It was tossed into the air, as an offering of reward to a spirit, after an escape from some unusual danger, or when the warriors returned to town after a successful war, or hunting expedition, or long journey in which they had been exposed to many perils and hardships.

#### DISSEMINATION BY SPANIARDS.

Medicine was related to religion in the affairs of primitive man. It was observed by the Spaniards who early came to the West Indies and to the mainland of America that tobacco was used by the Indians for medicinal purposes and to prevent a feeling of fatigue. Historically this is a matter of subsequent great importance, because it was the cause of the rapid spread of the cultivation and use of tobacco throughout the world. Tobacco was first observed by Europeans, within present knowledge, in 1492 in the West Indies. The subsequent sequence of events in the introduction of tobacco to Europe is uncertain and the record is contradictory. It is said that the Spaniards began the cultivation of tobacco in the West Indies before 1535 and shortly after made the tobacco of the Island of Trinidad famous in Europe. Soon they developed production on a large scale in the West Indies, Venezuela, and Brazil.

My assumption is that tobacco was going from Spanish plantations to Spain and Portugal for use there before a few noted men got themselves into the historical record as introducers of the plant. One item of record is that a famous physician, Francisco Fernandes, who was sent to Mexico by Philip II of Spain in 1558, was the first to bring the plant to notice in Europe with the specimens that he took. In 1560, Jean Nicot, French ambassador to Lisbon, found tobacco seed

there, which he sent to Paris. The popular belief is that Sir Walter Raleigh was the man who first took tobacco to England, but the writers of history have no good excuse for making this error. Apparently Sir John Hawkins was the first to take tobacco to England, in 1565, and it is of record that tobacco was growing in that country about 1570. Yet one of our historical authorities states that in 1586 tobacco and pipes were first brought to England by Sir Francis Drake. Evidently there is a great deal of error in tobacco history as it is written.

It is well to bear in mind that social history is made mostly by the masses of the people and little by historical figureheads; and I would suggest that the conflicting statements concerning the first transfer of tobacco to Europe be ignored and that the responsibility for this be placed on the Spanish sailors and sea captains who early came to the West Indies and whose names are unsung by history. The fact that Spaniards were cultivating tobacco in the West Indies before 1535, and apparently on a commercial scale soon after, indicates that they were finding a market for it in Spain about that time.

#### FIRST USED BY WHITES AS A MEDICINE.

There is much in this subject of tobacco that pertains to psychology. Why did Europeans begin to use tobacco? Certainly not because they believed that it put them favorably in touch with the spirits of evil. The misery of the first sickness in acquiring the use of tobacco by smoking—and this was the first use in Europe—would seem to have been a formidable obstacle to taking the first step.

From the beginning in the sixteenth century, or perhaps at the end of the fifteenth century, and for an indefinite and variable later time, tobacco was smoked by Europeans mainly because of the wonderful properties attributed to the smoke. It was supposed, and the belief was derived from the Indians, that the smoke not only cured disease but was a prophylactic as well. Moreover, it prevented the pangs of hunger and fatigue. The visitation of the plague encouraged the use of tobacco enormously. It was for a long time prescribed as a medicine by physicians in Spain, France, and England.

There is or has been until recently a last remnant of the belief in the curative power of tobacco in the United States. I have seen a countryman take a chew of tobacco from his mouth and apply it to a wound with the expectation that the healing would be hastened.

In the meantime tobacco was going to other countries. It was introduced into Turkey at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Persians soon received it from Turkey. It reached far-off China still earlier, before the end of the sixteenth century.



## PIPE SMOKING IN ENGLAND.

During the first 50 years after tobacco began to be used in England, smoking spread with extraordinary rapidity to all classes of society—peers, squires, parsons, and peasants. Soon, smoking entered another phase of its history. It began to withdraw from the domain of medicine and to become fashionable. Sir Walter Raleigh's true place in tobacco history is that he was responsible for its common use in smoking for pleasure. Long before his death in 1618, smoking had become fashionable.

A social pipe, the same pipe, was passed from person to person around the dinner table. There was smoking at the theater. In 1620, the London Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers was incorporated, with the motto, "Let brotherly love continue." Much was written in favor of tobacco. Marston wrote in 1607,

Musicke, tobacco, sacke, and sleepe  
The tide of sorrow backward keep.

Edmund Spenser, in the *Faerie Queen*, calls tobacco, "The sovaine weede, divine tobacco."

A French traveler who was in London in 1633 wrote that the English were naturally lazy and spent half their time in smoking. The habit was not confined to London, but had extended to the country and into Scotland. Smoking was a particular feature of the Lord Mayor's show in London in 1672. Then, as before, pipes and tobacco were a usual provision for city feasts.

That immortal smoker, Raleigh, had many distinguished followers. John Milton was a smoker, even after he was blind. I have heard smokers say that they do not like to smoke in the dark—they want to see the smoke. At any rate, Milton smoked after he became blind. Sir Isaac Newton smoked immoderately. Thomas Hobbes and Isaac Walton were smokers, and each lived to be 90 years old.

But tobacco had many enemies. Besides King James I, who wrote the *Counterblaste to Tobbacco*, there was Dekkar, the dramatist, who refers to tobacco as "thou beggarly monarch of Indians, and setter-up of rotten-lunged chimney sweepers." Burton, of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, believed in tobacco as a medicine, but denounced the common smoking "by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale," as "a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health—hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul."

In the latter decades of the sixteenth century smoking became less fashionable and general. Yet, in Queen Anne's time smoking was still common although decadent. Then followed a long period when smoking was under the social ban in England. In the eighteenth

century it was confined largely to the middle and humbler classes, to use an English expression; but there were numerous exceptions. Country parsons smoked, and their parishioners, from squire to laborer.

#### SNUFFING FOLLOWS.

Looking backward from the present time, it would seem as though smoking had a most improbable and absurd successor in fashionable London and later in England. Who could guess, without knowing the historical fact, that it was tobacco snuff? The original users of snuff were the Indians of South America and of the countries northward to Mexico. From them Spaniards acquired the habit and in consequence became the first snuff makers of Europe. The Dutch, English, and Scotch extended the industry, as they in turn became users of snuff.

It is said that by 1759 snuff taking had apparently occupied the place of pipe smoking in the fashion of London. In a satirical poem of the time, one of the verses asserts that—

Coxcombs prefer the tickling sting of snuff.

The populace, however, was still on the side of smoking. Dr. Johnson said in 1773:

To be sure, it is a shocking thing, blowing smoke out of our mouths into other people's mouths, eyes, and noses, and having the same thing done to us; yet, I can not account why a thing which requires so little exertion and yet preserves the mind from total vacuity, should have gone out.

Dr. Johnson and all his company took snuff, as every one did in the fashionable world, and a great many outside of the charmed circle, although on the outside pipes were still in full blast.

In the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century, smoking reached its nadir in England. The snuffbox was all powerful. The Prince Regent was devoted to snuff and had "a cellar of snuff" which after his death in 1830 was sold for 400 pounds. The oldest method of taking snuff in England was to scrape it with a rasp from a root of the tobacco plant; the powder was placed on the back of the hand and snuffed up into the nose. This is why a coarse kind of snuff made from the darker and ranker tobacco leaves has been called *rappeé*, a corrupted spelling and pronunciation of a French word meaning rasped. The rasp was carried in a waistcoat pocket and soon became a luxurious implement of carved ivory bejeweled and ornamented.

But the habit of using snuff reached its peak in Great Britain and then followed a long period of decline, ending in desuetude by the end of the nineteenth century, when the snuffbox disappeared from the mantelpiece of the clubs.

## VOGUE OF THE CIGAR.

Next enters the vogue of the cigar in England. The Spaniards first saw Indians smoking cigars in the West Indies and in turn became smokers and makers of cigars themselves. Cigars and cigar making were introduced into Spain and by one channel and another a few cigars reached England from time to time. But until the early years of the nineteenth century, cigars were almost unknown in England. By 1830, they were freely, if privately, smoked. Why this new custom?

Bear in mind that pipe smoking had by no means become extinct in Great Britain, but it was mostly confined to what English writers like to call the humbler classes, with some survival in classes above. That country sent many soldiers to the Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal, and many came back, and when they returned they brought with them cigars and the habit of smoking them. Then followed the acquiring of the habit of cigar smoking by those classes that had early been pipe smokers and later snuff takers.

Cigar smoking grew rapidly in England. Sir Walter Scott smoked cigars and so did Byron. Byron's poem, *The Island*, is known to-day only because it contains his apostrophe to tobacco. Thackeray was another cigar smoker. Others, however, detested cigar smoking. The Duke of Wellington was annoyed by the increase of cigar smoking among the officers of the army, and in the early forties he issued a general order against smoking in mess rooms and against smoking by officers of junior rank. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort detested tobacco and it was taboo wherever court was.

Since the Peninsular War, the pipe and the cigar have gone hand in hand in Great Britain, with a tendency in later years of the pipe to return to its respectability; and in the more recent years the cigarette has become very prominent. You will remember that Tennyson was a pipe smoker of strenuous performance and that he was a guest at Shadwell Rectory when he wrote *In Memoriam*. When he began its composition, his pipe created such a smudge in the rectory that he was removed by his host, very politely, of course, to a workshop in the garden, and that was the birthplace of this immortal poem, on account of the poet's pipe.

## IN THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.

So far, I have purposely remained out of the Thirteen Colonies, partly because there is a deal of important tobacco history before the first tobacco export from Jamestown, partly because English history throws necessary light on the early tobacco production and the tobacco habits of this country; and partly also to avoid the appear-

ance of making Jamestown the creator of the smoking habit in England. That is an impression that one gets from a little reading of colonial history.

Our national tobacco history begins at the Jamestown settlement. The Virginia plant rarely exceeded a yard in height. It had a small yellow flower, like that of henbane, and had short, thick leaves, weak in flavor but biting to the tongue. The West Indian plant was 9 to 12 feet high. The Jamestown settlers followed the Indian custom of planting tobacco seed as they did corn, and did not transplant from a seed bed. Later the practice of transplanting was suggested by the old English practice with regard to vegetables. The Indians removed suckers to give the leaves greater size, and pulled the leaves from the standing stalks and dried them by fire or sun. For 150 years the colonists dried the leaves by hanging them in barns exposed to the free circulation of air. The Indians ceased to plant tobacco as soon as their white neighbors began to cultivate it on an extensive scale, and obtained their tobacco from the whites by exchange.

John Rolfe raised the first tobacco at Jamestown in 1612, and by 1618 the export of tobacco to England amounted to 20,000 pounds in that year. Rolfe's object was to obtain goods from England in exchange for tobacco. Already some sassafras had been exported. Tobacco at once became the chief export because it returned more for the labor required for its production than anything else. England was urging the raising of wheat for export, but this was uneconomical for the colonists as compared with tobacco.

It has been asserted by critical writers that, without export tobacco, the first settlement of Virginia would have been a failure. This seems to me to be an exaggeration by those who have looked at the subject through a pinhole. Certainly the Jamestown people did not eat tobacco, although I have seen tobacco chewers who seemed to be eating it, and, since other colonies survived without early tobacco exports or other exports that had any such prominence as tobacco did in Virginia, it is not logical to suppose that Jamestown would have been abandoned in want of tobacco. If the statement had been made that the corn of the Indians saved the colonists from starvation and made the colony permanent it would have been nearer the mark. Tobacco exports were exchanged mostly for textiles, clothing, and metal and leather goods. So readily were these obtained by raising tobacco that it is reported that Jamestown was more than once near starvation because tobacco was raised too much to the exclusion of foods.

It is not my intention to repeat the familiar story of the service of tobacco as money in early Virginia, but I venture to offer a few

words of comment. Our school histories and, indeed, our larger histories are likely to create the impression that there was some inherent and exclusive virtue in tobacco that qualified it to perform duty as money. This, of course, is thoroughly erroneous. Tobacco, in the trade between Virginia and England, was readily exchangeable in England for any and all of the things that the colonists bought; hence to them it had one of the attributes of money, or exchangeability, but it did not possess the other attributes of money. The fact of ready exchangeability, joined to the fact of export, created a situation for tobacco in Virginia in which it could serve as money in a limited way. At a time when real money was scarce a clergyman or a laborer willingly took his pay in tobacco, because he knew that he could take it to the nearest merchant and receive from him goods or credit in exchange; for the merchant knew that he could send the tobacco to England by the next ship and receive therefor its equivalent in goods. There have been numerous other instances throughout the ages, and in other parts of the world, of limited money service by commodities. Among them are cattle, wheat, corn, rye, tea, furs, rice in Carolina, sugar in the West Indies, and dried codfish in Newfoundland.

#### BEGINNINGS IN THE STATES.

The culture of tobacco in New England began at the time of the various settlements, but was opposed by many of the Puritians, so that the crop did not develop to any great extent for many years. As early as 1640, the Connecticut colony made a law restricting the use of tobacco to that grown in the colony, with penalty of 5 shillings for every pound of money expended for imported tobacco unless license had been obtained from a court. This was to stimulate home production, and yet in 1646-47 a law was enacted forbidding every person under 20 years old and every other person who had not become a tobacco user, to use any tobacco without certificate from a physician that it would be beneficial to him. Nor should tobacco be used publicly in the streets, with penalty of 6 pence. Somewhat similar prohibitions existed, or had existed, locally in England, so that this was not legislation that was the first of its kind. Massachusetts Bay had similar restrictive legislation. There was a diversity of opinion in New England with regard to tobacco. John Eliot, the preacher and missionary among the Indians, denounced tobacco, but the pastor of the first church of Charlestown "was always seen with a pipe in his mouth."

So important had tobacco become to the Connecticut colony by 1753, that an official inspection was established for export tobacco for securing sound, well-ripened, and well-cured tobacco. The export

tobacco was for cigars and until 1800 was bought by local merchants and shipped mostly to the West Indies.

Statements may be found with regard to the first year when tobacco was raised by the whites in some of the States, but such statements are to be accepted with caution. It may be supposed that the first settlers lost no time in cultivating this plant.

In Maryland, it is supposed that the first white man to raise tobacco was a Virginian who migrated to Kent Island in the eastern edge of the Chesapeake Bay opposite Baltimore in 1631. Penn's colonists early engaged in tobacco raising; as early as 1689, or only seven years after the Proprietor came from England, 14 cargoes of tobacco were exported by them to that country. Tobacco was raised by the first French or Spanish settlers of Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana, and by the first settlers of Tennessee. In Missouri, it did not become a staple crop until 1822 or 1823. Having been introduced into Louisiana by the Western Co., a considerable quantity of tobacco was produced by 1718. In 1752, its culture was encouraged by the French royal governor, who took the whole crop at 7 cents a pound, and the Spanish colonial government gave the same sort of encouragement in 1776.

The earliest information for Kentucky is that in 1785 General Wilkinson, of Lexington, contracted with the Spanish governor in Louisiana to deliver several boatloads of tobacco in New Orleans. Probably some of this tobacco was grown on the Ohio River and in Kentucky as well as in Spanish settlements on the Mississippi River.

By 1810, tobacco had become a great staple crop in Tennessee. Florida's beginning, it is said, was not until 1829. It is incredible that tobacco was not raised in New York until 1845 in Onondaga County near Rochester, and yet that is the assertion of the historians. It is pertinent to inquire what the Dutch settlers in the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys were doing for more than 200 years before 1845. We don't need to depend on that learned historian, Knickerbocker, for tales of the Dutchmen's devotion to their pipes.

#### THE WORLD'S TOBACCO.

This amazing plant, the use of which has penetrated every part of the world, has also become diffused throughout the world as a crop. The pioneer and first settler raised tobacco with his first food crops. While it is not possible to ascertain how much tobacco is produced in the entire world, it is possible to do so for many countries and thus account for most of the world's production. For countries for which estimates were available, the total of 1900 was 2,201,000,000 pounds. The world crop touched 2,834,000,000 pounds

in 1910 and fell to 2,254,000,000 pounds in 1914 and 2,153,000,000 pounds in 1915. About one-half of the world's tobacco crop, as nearly as can be ascertained, was produced by the United States in 1915. The fraction previous to 1909 was hardly one-third back to 1900, before which year the world's crop has not been compiled. By 1915 the United States and its possessions produced more than one-half of the world's crop of tobacco, and in 1914 and 1913 about an even one-half.

While tobacco production is found in many countries, only a few of them produce a surplus, above their own consumption, of sufficient proportions to be noticeable. The average yearly exports of tobacco in the world's trade grew from 755,000,000 pounds in 1904-1908 to 924,000,000 pounds in 1909-1913, of which latter quantity the share of the United States was over 41 per cent. In the latter period, the Sumatra leaf of the Dutch East Indies supplied 18 per cent of the world's tobacco exports; 6.5 per cent went from Brazil, 5 per cent from Turkey, 4 per cent from Cuba, 3 per cent each from British India and the Philippine Islands, and 2.5 per cent each from Algeria, Russia, and Santo Domingo.

While tobacco has been moving out of the countries as a surplus of production, it has not only been entering countries having a deficient production, but also countries having a surplus, as an exchange of one variety for another. Before disturbance of the world's trade by the war, the world's tobacco imports, which were mostly ascertainable, increased from the yearly average of 717,000,000 pounds in 1904-1908 to 844,000,000 pounds in 1909-1913. Germany was the chief tobacco importer among the nations, and received 22 per cent of the world's total in the former period and 20 per cent in the latter. The United Kingdom received 12 and 14 per cent, respectively, in the two periods; France, 9 and 8 per cent; and other countries each less than 8 per cent.

#### PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Tobacco's insignificant beginning in John Rolfe's garden in 1612 has had magnificent results in this country. You will remember that by 1618, 20,000 pounds were sent to England. The export of tobacco from Virginia doubled the next year, and in three years from 1618 it trebled. A half million pounds measured the export in 1627, about 1,500,000 pounds in 1639, about 23,750,000 pounds in 1664—presumably from Maryland as well as Virginia—and with an irregular upward movement the quantity exceeded 107,000,000 pounds in 1770. Exports were small, but did not cease, during the Revolution, after which they rapidly rose to 101,000,000 pounds in 1790 when the estimated production was 130,000,000 pounds.

The first United States census of agriculture, for 1839, found a crop of more than 219,000,000 pounds of tobacco, but in 1849 it was under 200,000,000 pounds. By 1859 it had more than doubled the crop of 1849 and reached 434,000,000 pounds, followed by reduction to 263,000,000 pounds in 1869 in consequence of the Civil War. After that year, production advanced to 868,000,000 pounds in 1899, to 1,056,000,000 pounds in 1909, and to 1,508,000,000 pounds in 1920, the largest crop ever raised in this or any other country.

Virginia led in tobacco production in 1839, with 34 per cent, or more than one-third of the national total. The Civil War placed Kentucky in the lead, and by 1869 that State produced 40 per cent of the whole crop. This lead has been held to the present time, with an average of about 35 per cent. By 1899 Virginia had fallen behind North Carolina also, when the latter State produced 15 per cent of the total crop, but North Carolina did not continuously hold second place until recent years.

Tobacco production per capita apparently declined from 11.1 pounds in the period 1839-1844 to 7.4 pounds in the decade following the Civil War. The information is not as dependable as is desired, but at least the indication was a declining ratio of production to population. The tendency of the ratio was reversed after 1865-1874, and by 1895-1904 the ratio was 9.3 pounds, followed by 10 pounds in 1905-1914. The yearly ratios of 1915-1920 ranged from 10.6 to 14.1 pounds.

Tobacco is rated as a crop of considerable importance from a national point of view, and of high importance within the limits of some of the States, and yet the area occupied by it is a very insignificant fraction of farm and of crop area. The census for 1909 found 1,294,911 acres devoted to tobacco, and this area was only 0.41 per cent of the total crop area, and 0.15 per cent of the farm area.

Fundamental to agriculture is the yield per acre. In the case of tobacco, 10-year averages have been adopted, when possible, to smooth out yearly variations. During 1865-1874, the national average yield per acre was 722.3 pounds, and it fell to 719.9 pounds in the following 10 years, and to 714.4 pounds in 1885-1894. Thereafter the gain has been marked, and the average of 768.8 pounds during 1895-1904 was followed by 827.5 pounds during 1905-1914. During 1915-1920 the yearly yield per acre ranged from 730.8 to 873.7 pounds.

The average yield of tobacco per acre per 1,000,000 of the population was 18.5 pounds in the decade 1865-1874; it fell to 14.4 pounds in the next decade, to 11.5 pounds in 1885-1894, to 10.1 pounds in 1895-1904, and to 9.1 pounds in 1905-1914, and the yearly averages for 1915-1920 range from 6.9 to 8.3 pounds. The inference is plain



that the yield of the soil in tobacco has declined for half a century in its ratio to population.

In pre-war years, the United Kingdom received more than one-third of the tobacco exported from this country, and about one-tenth went each to France, Germany, and Italy. Over 6 per cent went to the Netherlands, 5 per cent to Spain, 4 per cent each to Australia and Canada, 3 per cent to Belgium, and 2 per cent to China. Of course, the war very much disturbed these percentages.

The exported fraction of the crop has been a diminishing one. For 1790 the fraction was 78 per cent; for 1845-1854, 67.2 per cent; for 1875-1884, 53.9 per cent, from which the decline was steady to 40.6 per cent in 1905-1914. The percentage was 43 for 1915, 38.1 for 1916, 26 for 1917, 47.5 for 1918, and 49 per cent for 1919, no allowance being made for the carry over.

Tobacco varies greatly in its characteristics as they appear to smokers; and fancy, perhaps created by habit, gives preference to one or another of the many varieties and subvarieties of the plant produced throughout the world. For this reason the United States, the greatest tobacco producing and greatest tobacco exporting country in the world, also imported tobacco enough to make it the fifth in order among the tobacco-importing countries of the world before the World War.

The fragrant leaf of Cuba is by far the chief tobacco imported into the United States. Before the recent war it was 45 per cent of the total leaf-tobacco imports, but the fraction greatly declined during the war and in the year beginning with July, 1917, it was only 19 per cent, and in 1919, 25 per cent. In pre-war times, 12 per cent of this country's tobacco imports came from Turkey in Asia and 10 per cent from Turkey in Europe, or 22 per cent from that Empire. The war extinguished the direct trade movement, but apparently tobacco imports from Greece, which were normally little more than 1 per cent, took up this movement, with the result that tobacco imports from that country grew to 17 per cent of the total in 1917. Next in order below was Sumatra's thin leaf, with 11 per cent of the total tobacco imports into the United States before the war.

By the 10-year periods, tobacco imports were equal to 2.2 per cent of the crop of this country in 1865-1874, followed by irregular increase to 3.2 per cent in 1895-1904 and to 4.9 per cent in 1905-1914.

It has already been made apparent that the United States has always been a surplus country as a net result of the inward and outward movements of tobacco in foreign trade. From the small beginning at Jamestown, the national tobacco surplus grew to be 36,000,000 pounds in 100 years, 80,000,000 pounds in 200 years, and 326,000,000 pounds in 300 years, or, rather, in the normal years before the World War. Most of this tobacco has been unmanufactured when exported. The

national net surplus of tobacco, as a fraction of the production, persistently declined from the Civil War to the present time; the decline being from 74 per cent of the crop in 1865-1874 to 34 per cent for the five years 1915-1919.

The computed per capita consumption of tobacco in this country has been steadily gaining since 1865-1874. Before that time, back to 1839, it seems to have been about 3.3 pounds. Following the Civil War, the computed average is as low as 2 pounds, and this was followed by a climbing movement that reached 6.4 pounds in 1905-1914 and 8 pounds during the following four years—8 pounds for every man, woman, child, and baby.

Relationships exist among several per capita ratios. Tobacco production per capita is increasing because tobacco acreage is increasing faster than population. Production per acre per capita is decreasing; fertility improvement is not keeping up with human multiplication and immigration. The excess of the tobacco exports per capita is declining. The result of all these movements is an increasing per capita consumption of domestic tobacco that is absorbing a larger and larger fraction of the per capita production.

#### USES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Pipe smoking was brought to the Thirteen Colonies by the first settlers; and they observed the Indians smoking pipes. The Indians had smoked tobacco in pipes for so many centuries that there is no evidence when they began. The primitive pipe in what is now southwestern United States seems to have been a hollow reed stem or a section of cane, later made of other materials in the form of a tube, probably straight. In North America, many forms of the Indian pipe have been found, varying from a straight tube to a curved one, to cones joined at the apexes, to bowl and stem joined at an angle, at a right angle, and even at an acute angle. Pipes were made by Indians from baked clay, wood, bone, metal, or stone, or a combination of these materials. Pipes, such as some of us now use, were originally shaped by Europeans.

In Great Britain only clay pipes were used until 1859, when the brier-root pipe appeared, made from the root of the white heath. The name is a perversion of the French name. This country has added to the variety the corncob pipe, now Missouri's famous product. The tube or double cone is an implement of great antiquity elsewhere than the American Continent, and was used upon occasion for smoking substances other than tobacco for the curative properties supposed to be in the smoke.

The cigar seems to have reached the white people of this country in a devious way. Columbus found the Indians smoking it, and it

seems to have come to this country by way of Spain and England. Quite similarly the domestic turkey, the potato, and some varieties of the bean, all originating somewhere in America, reached us through Europe. It is said that the first commercial cigars made in this country were made in the houses of the early tobacco growers in the Connecticut Valley and sold in New York and other towns. Cigar factories were established at East Windsor and Suffield, Conn., about 1810, and some of the tobacco used by them was from Cuba and Brazil. The cigars were peddled in wagons throughout the country. In 1825 a tobacco warehouse was erected at Warehouse Point, Conn., and cigar tobacco was packed there and shipped to New York in bales of about 100 pounds.

Since 1895 the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has ascertained and published the quantities of leaf tobacco used in this country in the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes, and "tobacco and snuff," the tobacco of the last class being chewing and smoking tobacco. After converting these three classes into percentages of the total leaf tobacco used by manufacturers, it appears that the fraction for cigars increased from 25 per cent in the calendar year 1896 to 30 per cent in 1907, when the advance was arrested. From 1908 to 1914 the percentage ranged from 27 to 29, and a rapid decline followed during the World War to 26.5 per cent in 1915 and 1916, and to 25 per cent in 1919. In 11 years the fraction of the leaf tobacco used for cigars declined from 30 to 25 per cent.

By the time that this country had recovered from the industrial depression of 1893-1897, the production and consumption of tobacco products had become fairly normal. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue reports that the average yearly number of large cigars made in 1899-1901 was about 5,500,000,000 and that the number had increased to the yearly average of 7,200,000,000 for 1916-1918, or 30 per cent. Corresponding figures for small cigars, including cheroots, are 669,500,000 made in the average of 1899-1901 and 900,100,000 in the average of 1916-1918, an increase of 35 per cent. Exports of cigars and cheroots reached the number of about 2,400,000 in the year ending with June, 1917, 15,000,000 in 1918, 33,000,000 in 1919, and 67,000,000 in 1920.

More than one-half of the leaf tobacco annually used by manufacturers during 1896-1918 became chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff, but the fraction has been a declining one. From about 70 per cent of the total in the earlier years, it fell to 61 per cent by 1915, followed by a rapid fall to 46 per cent in 1919, or less than one-half of the leaf tobacco used by manufacturers.

In weight, smoking tobacco by far leads every other product. For 1899-1901, the average was 105,400,000 pounds, and in 1918-19 the quantity had grown to 240,000,000 pounds, a gain of 128

per cent. Plug tobacco is next in weight below smoking tobacco, and averaged 170,700,000 pounds in 1899-1901 and 158,000,000 pounds in 1918-19.

Tobacco chewing seems to have been reserved to become a great national habit first and only in the United States. The chewing habit appears to have been very sparingly followed in any other country. Prof. McGuire, of Washington, says that there is some evidence that tobacco was chewed in Central America when first visited by Europeans. De Candolle ventures the statement that tobacco chewing was practiced by the Indians throughout the greater part of America. I can not help but doubt this statement. The Handbook of American Indians of the Bureau of American Ethnology does not mention tobacco chewing by Indians.

Sailors were the first white tobacco chewers. Tobacco history was made, not so much by the officers of the poop deck, who got their names into print, as by the unknown men in the forecabin. Although English sailors chewed tobacco in the ports of England, the chewing habit made no headway among the landmen of that country, nor did it obtain a footing in any country save the Thirteen Colonies. In this country, the people were living in the midst of a great national habit, with which all had become so familiar that they were hardly conscious of its existence, when Dickens gave the country a great national jolt by reporting what he saw, in Martin Chuzzlewit. I have the impression that chewing has long been declining, especially so in recent years.

Snuff taking in the nose, as we already know, was a gentleman's habit in England early in the nineteenth century and, in declining degree, long after. From England it was brought to this country and flourished for many years. As far as I have been able to learn, the habit is all but extinct. I last saw a snuff box in use in western Massachusetts 35 years ago. When I came to Washington 30 years ago I heard the tale that a snuff box was maintained in the Senate Chamber for common use at public expense, but I have not verified the statement. A woman doing clerical work in one of the offices of Washington takes snuff in her nose, and this is the only instance within my knowledge.

Women have long used snuff in this country by "dipping," and the habit at one time permeated all social grades, but not all parts of the country. One end of a small stick of wood, say 3 inches long and about as thick as a lead pencil, was chewed until the fibers became separated from one another, and this brushlike end was dipped in snuff and held in the mouth between the teeth and the cheek. This was usually done at home and when free from observation by guests and strangers, but not always. About 25 years ago I saw a white

woman enter a railroad car at Woodstock, Va., with a snuff stick protruding from her mouth, and she sat in the car without removing it. She was probably from the adjacent mountains. In those mountains in 1920 I saw women with a snuff stick.

I have often inquired of men, and women, too, who have traveled much throughout the United States, or resided in various parts, whether they had seen or heard of snuff taking in the nose or of snuff dipping in recent years, and hardly a person whom I have questioned has been able to say that these uses of snuff have been seen or heard of.

The average production of 15,300,000 pounds of snuff, in 1899-1901, grew to 34,900,000 pounds as the average of 1916-1919, a gain of 127 per cent, a conspicuous fact for such a product. It is not exported.

What is done with this great quantity of snuff? For the purpose of this paper, I wrote to the secretary of the Tobacco Merchants' Association of the United States, and from him I have a long-sought explanation. He informs me that about 98 per cent of the snuff used in this country is used somewhat as chewing tobacco is used, and that the same results are obtained without the necessity of chewing it. This use of snuff is common among the negroes of Washington. The processing of tobacco in the manufacture of snuff eliminates much of its acidity and bitterness; therefore less sweetening is required to make it a pleasant, agreeable "chew." The smaller the quantity of sweetening in the tobacco, the less saliva is created and the less spitting necessary. "While it is difficult to estimate how much is used for snuffing," the secretary of the association writes, "we place it at less than 2 per cent, and would not be surprised if it were not more than 1 per cent."

The most outstanding fact in the tobacco industry is the production of small cigarettes. The average number made in 1899-1901 was 3,200,000,000, and a number that reaches a billion seems large; but in 1916-1918 the average production of small cigarettes was 35,800,000,000, a gain of more than 1,000 per cent in 17 years. In 1918 the number rose to 47,900,000,000, and in 1919 to 53,000,000,000. It is true that billions of these cigarettes were exported in the war years, the number for the year ending with June, 1917, being about 6,500,000,000; for 1918 about 9,100,000,000; for 1919 about 13,600,000,000; and for 1920 about 17,500,000,000. Still the number remaining for domestic consumption averaged about 28,400,000,000 per year in the four years, 1917-1920 and the consumption by the military and naval forces of the United States, wherever situated, is almost entirely treated as "domestic." In 1918, 34,500,000,000 cigarettes were consumed in this country; and in 1919 nearly 36,000,000,000.

The weight of leaf tobacco used for cigarettes has been known as far back as 1896. About that time 5 per cent of all leaf tobacco used by manufacturers was converted into cigarettes, but years of decline followed to only 3 per cent in 1905. Thereafter the upward movement was strong. It reached 4 per cent in 1908, 10 per cent in 1913, 20 per cent in 1917, and 30 per cent in 1919, or more than the leaf tobacco used for cigars. Within a very few years the cigar has been losing its vogue relatively and the little cigarette has been overwhelmingly advancing.

The cigarette started with the Indians and it was given to the Spaniards in the West Indies; it soon acquired much popularity among the Spaniards everywhere and this popularity has been held to this day. The early Indian cigarette was rolled in tobacco leaf, and in Mexico a dry corn husk was used by the Aztecs. I have bought corn-husk cigarettes from the Mexican Indian women who made them in New Mexico. Eventually the Spaniards used a paper covering, the rolling still being done by hand. The cigarette spread throughout Europe, with eventual popularity. It was comparatively a cheap smoke when taxes made tobacco costly; it was a short smoke under circumstances in which a pipe or cigar would have been impossible or a waste; and it fitted into temperaments and states of mind incompatible with the deliberation and serenity of a pipe or a cigar.

At the exposition of 1876 at Philadelphia a new machine was making cigarettes wrapped in paper, and doing the work rapidly and automatically. Soon thereafter the future of the cigarette radically changed, and it became the "coffin nail" of millions and hundreds of millions of devotees throughout the world. Demand for cigarettes was enormously increased by the World War, and evidence of this is not confined to the United States. It comes also from Great Britain and the Continent. In five years the consumption of cigarettes nearly doubled in Great Britain. As many as 4,920,000,000 cigarettes were sold in France in 1919, an increase of 31 per cent in six years.

#### TOBACCO DECEPTIONS.

In the early days of smoking in England, smoking tobacco was adulterated by the use of cheaper materials to increase its weight. My supposition is that this was the origin of the use of licorice, molasses, and other things found to-day in some smoking and some chewing tobacco. New smokers and new chewers learn to like them in combination with tobacco. These adulterants are mostly responsible for the offensive odor of pipes.

One of the deceptions of the tobacco manufacturer and of the dealer in this country is in the use of the word "Habana." Among the well-informed tobacco men a cigar made wholly of Cuban

tobacco is a "clear Habana," and one made of the Habana variety raised in the United States is called simply an "Habana." But many ignorant retailers and most of the public at large are deceived into believing that "Habana" tobacco is Cuban tobacco.

Another widespread deception has appeared in recent years, and that depends on the use of the word "Egyptian" in connection with cigarettes. In the first place there is no Egyptian tobacco. The plant is not raised in Egypt. But perhaps the use of the word may be defended by saying that the cigarettes were made in Egypt. It is true that Turkish tobacco is imported into Egypt and there made into cigarettes, some of which are exported. In a recent Egyptian foreign trade report it is observed that only about 3,000,000 pounds of tobacco were imported into that country in each of the years 1918 and 1919. About 244,000,000 cigarettes were exported to all countries in 1918 and 344,000,000 in 1919. These are minute numbers in cigarette consumption. The foreign trade report of the United States states that in 1918 only 875,000 cigarettes were imported from Egypt and in 1919 only 450,000. Young women could be mentioned, all cigarette smokers, each of whom would smoke one-thirtieth of these cigarettes in the regular performance of her daily "stunt." If the cigarettes imported into this country from England are all made in Egypt, still the imports would be only twice the very small record. So that is all of the truth that there is in the Egyptian cigarette in this country.

#### TOBACCO SIGNS.

The wooden figure of an Indian offering cigars was everywhere seen in front of retail tobacco shops in this country less than half a century ago. Tobacco-shop figures of Indians, negroes, Scotchmen, Dutchmen, and now and then a figure of Mr. Punch were everywhere in evidence, and then, presto, they had disappeared.

The origin of these figures is of some interest. When Sir Walter Raleigh had made pipe smoking popular in England, there was an enormous number of shops in London where tobacco was sold. It was sold by apothecaries very naturally, because it was a medicinal plant at that time. Grocers and chandlers in general sold it, and keepers of inns and alehouses. Buildings were not numbered in those days and businesses were known as being conducted at the sign of the Cat and the Fiddle, and so on, the object being sometimes a picture and again a wooden figure. The Black Boy was the first wooden figure used by a tobacco dealer, a figure previously and also subsequently used in other business. It is mentioned as a tobacco sign by Ben Jonson in Bartholomew Fair in 1614. It was known that negroes in the West Indies cultivated tobacco for the

English market. After a while, the wooden figure of an Indian appeared, resulting from the false belief that Indians produced export tobacco. This sign was readily adopted in this country because it was known that the whites learned to use tobacco from the Indians.

Other significant early tobaccoists' signs were a figure of Sir Walter Raleigh, of the Virginian, the Three Tobacco Pipes, the Wooden Midshipman, the Jolly Sailor, a Scotchman holding a snuff-box—this derived from the fact that the Scotch at that time were famed as snuff takers and as snuff makers. The Dutch were great smokers and hence a Dutchman was for a long time a common figure. In the eighteenth century in England a frequent sign was three figures—a Scotchman, a Dutchman, and a sailor, explained by this rhyme:

We three are engaged in one cause,  
I snuffs, I smokes, and I chaws.

You observe that the sailor was the chewer.

#### WOMEN AS TOBACCO USERS.

Something must be said concerning the use of tobacco by women. Indian women did not use tobacco—they seem to have had no power to restrain the spirits of evil; but white women have used tobacco from early times. Soon after Spanish men began to smoke, Spanish women smoked cigarettes with hardly an exception, in all grades of society. Among women of other continental European countries, pipe smoking has always been uncommon, and cigar smoking and snuff taking too.

In England, a few women smoked very soon after the introduction of tobacco. Tradition has it that Queen Elizabeth once smoked with unpleasant results when Sir Walter Raleigh offered her a pipe. In some parts of England there was general pipe smoking by women of "the humbler classes" in the seventeenth century, and this fact continued to Victorian days. It was not until the sixties of the nineteenth century that cigarette smoking began to creep into feminine circles in England, and since that time this habit has advanced slowly until the World War. This war caused an extraordinary spread of cigarette smoking among women in England. The newspapers are saying that they learned to smoke during the war and that they were able to buy cigarettes because so many of them became wage earners.

It is well known that cigarette smoking by women has long been common in many of the continental countries.

In the United States, too, women have their tobacco history. Some of them were pipe smokers in colonial times, and many of these seem



to have been of the humbler sort, as an Englishman would say. This habit seems now to be confined mostly to the southern Appalachians.

Cigar smoking never gained a foothold among women of this country, nor of any other country.

Snuff taking, by snuffing into the nose, was practiced by women in this country to some extent in snuff-taking days and, according to the extent of my information, mostly in the North Atlantic States. This habit seems to have become almost extinct among women.

Snuff dipping was long very prevalent in the South among white women of all social grades and among negro women. The small remnant of this habit that is left seems to be confined to the southern mountains. I have not found any one who lived or traveled in the South who has lately seen a snuff stick or heard of its recent use, even among the negroes, outside of the mountains. While, strictly speaking, this is not tobacco chewing, it is closely allied to it. I have been unable to learn of any real chewing of tobacco in this country by women at any time, nor in any other country. Yet there is to-day, certainly among negro women and possibly among some of the white women of the Appalachian Mountains, a habit derived from snuff dipping, and that is the holding in the cheek of a little snuff. Within my knowledge, this habit exists among the negro women of Washington.

In all but one of the various uses of tobacco, white women of this country and of Europe have participated in great or small degree and have recoiled or retreated until they have all but fully, if not fully, abandoned these uses. But everywhere they have been conquered or are in process of being conquered by King Cigarette.

Why has the cigarette been victorious over women? It is a fact that the cigarette is a toy smoke and is not the more formidable undertaking that a cigar or a pipe is. But this does not fully explain. A woman is usually a miserable coward in the presence of convention, and hence in modern times, at least, she began to smoke cigarettes in secret, or with companions under cover. It was known that women in Europe smoked cigarettes. Women in "the smart set" got a notion that it was "smart" and a little naughty to be known as daring to smoke cigarettes; and then followed imitation, not only in that social clique but outside. Imitation is the great propagator of habits and customs.

Neither sex can make itself repulsive to the other. That is forbidden by the nature of our being. Has the use of tobacco by women made them repulsive to men? Tobacco chewing seems to have been regarded as taboo without a trial. The snuff stick was never used in the presence of men, except in the mountains of the South by the "poor whites" and by the negroes. Although this custom flourished for a while under its various conditions, it has become almost extinct.

It certainly became less and less respectable, as times changed, and hence it became also more and more repulsive to the other sex.

Snuffing by women must always have been repulsive. I shall ever remember, as a childhood observation, an old woman living near my grandfather's farm whose nostrils and upper lip were covered and discolored with snuff.

Pipe smoking, it is reported, is spreading in London and in England among women who are not of "the humbler classes." Little of the custom remains in this country, and that little in the Appalachians. I doubt that any man, elsewhere, would like to see his wife, or sweetheart, or any woman, smoke a pipe. And yet circumstances alter cases. In one of my rambles in the Alleghany Mountains in West Virginia I was kept for a cold night in November at a log house in the wilderness. After supper the housewife proceeded with her work with the end of a snuff stick in her cheek. Her mother, a woman of 70 or more, took a blackened clay pipe from the mantel above the fireplace and was about to fill it with shag, when I offered her my bag of tobacco. This she accepted and we sat before the log fire and smoked together and exchanged information until 9 o'clock struck the end of the day. A pipe in the mouth of a woman of that age, at that place, and at that time, did not seem at all repulsive to me.

No man would want to see a woman walk along F Street smoking a cigar, nor a cigarette, either. He would not like to see her smoke a cigar anywhere. But he can become accustomed to the cigarette smoking of women, and has become accustomed to it in certain places and times. It seems to be a matter of repetition of experience to establish familiarity, especially in the younger years of a man's life. The cigarette, unlike the cigar and the pipe, can blend with the daintiness of woman, and it has not been repulsive to man to see her smoke according to the custom of the country and where he has always seen it smoked.

A conservative, like myself, does not want to see the custom established in his own home, and yet somewhere else he can see women smoking cigarettes and not feel any antipathy. It seems to be a matter of generality of custom and frequency of seeing it in practice. Horses that were at first disposed to jump the roadside fence at sight of an automobile eventually paid no attention to it, so I expect that women will continue to smoke cigarettes in this country, that more women will adopt the habit, and that the screen of secrecy, the little that is left, will continue to be removed. Perhaps it will be a vogue that will have its day and then be embalmed in history, and perhaps not. Women of Spanish descent have been smoking cigarettes for 400 years.



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### XIII. NOTES ON THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY OF MAIZE.

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## NOTES ON THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY OF MAIZE.<sup>1</sup>

By G. N. COLLINS.

The history of a subject is not infrequently introduced by a brief review of what there may be of prehistoric evidence. This prehistoric evidence is usually limited to the legends and archeological remains that have been left by primitive man before a written language was adopted. In the history of a cultivated plant there often is prehistoric evidence that goes back to a still earlier period. Properly interrogated, the plant itself may disclose much of its early history, which in the case of maize probably goes back to the beginnings of agriculture on the American Continent. This early evidence is naturally somewhat elusive and is open to more than one interpretation, but should not on this account be disregarded.

One bit of prehistoric evidence contributed by the maize plant itself is that maize is of American origin. Although for many years disputed, this statement may now be made with assurance. So long as the argument was confined to archeological and philological fields there was room for a reasonable doubt, although the disputants seldom admitted as much; but with the recognition of the close relationship between maize and the native American grass, *Euchlaena mexicana*, together with the complete absence of maize relatives from the Old World, the contention for an Old World origin became untenable.

Although of American origin, there are some reasons for believing that maize may have reached Asia before the time of Columbus. At one time the balance of evidence appeared in favor of this view. But a rather extensive examination of the pre-Columbian Chinese literature, made by Dr. W. T. Swingle, has failed to disclose any certain reference to maize. This, together with the evidence presented by Doctor Laufer,<sup>2</sup> leaves the burden of evidence in favor of a post-Columbian introduction. The question should still be left open; but in any case the introduction of maize into the Old

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Agricultural History Society, May 12, 1919, with slight additions.

<sup>2</sup> Laufer, B., *The Introduction of Maize into Eastern Asia*, *Congres International des Americanists*, 15th Session, Quebec, 1907.

World must have been long after its domestication, and it is only necessary here to insist that this question shall not obscure the fact that maize must have been domesticated in America.

Before attempting to trace the early history of maize it will be well to consider the different theories that have been advanced regarding the manner of its origin or domestication.

Viewed in relation to natural wild species, maize is a monstrosity. In any of its known forms it is quite incapable of maintaining itself without the aid of man. This fact alone removes practically all hope of discovering the wild prototype of maize. To be wild this plant would have to be very unlike maize.

Instead of possessing adaptations for distribution, the seeds are persistent on a closely packed spike and are further protected against dispersion by being surrounded by a series of long bracts or husks. The young plants are unable to compete successfully with other vegetation. Neither is maize particularly resistant to drought, alkali, cold, or excessive moisture.

All of the other cereals under favorable conditions may escape from cultivation and persist for a time unaided, but there are no records of escaped maize. These facts must be kept in mind in attempting to trace the domestication of maize.

Three general theories of the domestication of maize have been advanced. Briefly stated, these are as follows:

(1) The cultivated forms of maize are descended from pod corn, or *Zea tunicata*, which it has been claimed is a wild plant in Paraguay.

(2) Maize has been derived by gradual evolution from some plant related to teosinte (*Euchlaena mexicana* Schrad), a native Mexican grass.

(3) Maize is the result of a hybrid between teosinte and some other species of grass.

To these might be added a fourth method, which, so far as I know, has never been advocated, but which seems worthy of consideration, viz, that maize originated as a mutation or sport from teosinte or some ancestor of teosinte.

#### POD CORN AS THE PROGENITOR OF MAIZE.

The early accounts of maize abound in references to pod corn as a wild or primitive type of maize. The distinguishing feature of podded maize is that, in addition to the husks which cover the ear, each individual grain is completely inclosed by the glumes. Pod corn was first reported by August de Saint-Hilaire in a letter addressed to the president of the French Academy of Sciences and

published in 1829.<sup>3</sup> The specimen presented by Saint-Hilaire consisted of a part of an ear received by him from the Abbé Larranhaga of Montevideo. It was accompanied by the statement from the abbé that this variety was cultivated by the Guaycuru Indians. This statement of Larranhaga's was questioned by Saint-Hilaire, who claimed that the Guaycurus were a wild, nonagricultural tribe. When, however, the podded ear was shown to a young Guarany Indian of Paraguay, who had accompanied Saint-Hilaire to France, this Indian recognized the specimen as from his country and said that it grew in the humid forests. Without apparent warrant, the word "wild" has crept into this quotation until there are now many statements to the effect that maize, especially podded maize, has been found growing wild in Paraguay.

That pod corn is cultivated by the Guaycuru Indians of Paraguay is further attested by Azara. This author, after describing two normal varieties, says:

As I have not had occasion to see frequently the variety of corn called "abat-guaicurú," I presume that it is not believed to be separate from the others in quality. It is nevertheless peculiar. In effect, whereas the ear is exactly like those of the preceding varieties and has the same husks (envelopes), each grain is enveloped in minute leaves which resemble completely the large ones which envelop the whole ear.<sup>4</sup>

There is thus little doubt that pod corn is considered a variety in Paraguay, but there is no reason for believing that it exists as a wild plant there or anywhere else. Pod corn, as we know it, would be quite incapable of maintaining itself without cultivation. Furthermore, pod corn is known to have arisen more than once by mutation from nonpodded varieties. The long glumes of pod corn are distinctly an ancestral character, nearly all grasses having the seeds inclosed in glumes after the manner of pod corn; and although pod corn may not be considered as an ancestor of maize, the fact that it exhibits ancestral characters makes it a matter of great interest to know more of the part which it plays in the agriculture of the Indians of Paraguay.

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<sup>3</sup> *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, Vol. 16, (1829), p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Azara, F., *Voyages dans L'Amérique Méridionale*, Vol. I, (1809), p. 146-148. The same author describes a fourth variety of corn which, if it is maize, as the author assumes, should be of great interest. He describes it as follows: "I do not remember the name given to the fourth variety of which the stalk, much more slender, is terminated—not by an ear, but like millet, with a kind of whip with second lashes ('Discipline à plusicuous cordes') of which each is covered with seeds exactly like those of maize but smaller. I also am ignorant as to the particular use to which this may be applied. I know only that in boiling in fat or oil the seeds of this inflorescence burst open without separating, which results in a splendid boquet that could be worn at night by a lady in her hair without one recognizing what it is. I have often eaten these popped grains and found them very good."



The only other reference to pod corn as a cultivated variety that has been found is that of Parker<sup>5</sup> who lists pod corn as one of the varieties grown by the Iroquois in New York, the Indian name for it signifying original corn. The characters of pod corn have figured to some extent in genetic studies, but so far as we can learn pod corn has never been established as a true variety; that is, it will not come true to seed, but continues to produce a certain percentage of plants with normal ears.

#### TEOSINTE AND THE ORIGIN OF MAIZE.

In discussing the other theories of the origin of maize, it will be necessary to make frequent references to teosinte, the closest wild relative of maize. This plant is a tall grass unknown in the wild state outside of Mexico. It has much of the general appearance of maize. The chief difference in habit is that instead of having a single stalk or a strong central stalk surrounded by a few slender branches or suckers, the teosinte plant commonly produces numerous stalks of the same size. The tassel or staminate inflorescence is also more profusely branched and lacks the characteristic central spike of maize. There are many other minor differences but after all, teosinte is much like maize, except in its pistillate inflorescence, or the part corresponding to the ear of maize. Instead of the thick ear bearing many rows of naked seeds, the seeds of teosinte are borne on a much-branched inflorescence, the individual seeds being loosely attached to one another like strings of triangular beads. The seeds instead of being naked are deeply embedded in segments of the rachis which fall apart, each segment with its inclosed seed. In spite of these profound differences maize and teosinte hybridize freely. In fact maize is as easily and completely fertilized with teosinte pollen as it is with maize pollen. This perfect fertility between two distinct genera seems the more remarkable when it is realized that perhaps nowhere else with other plants or animals has it been possible to obtain fertile hybrids between two forms separated by such profound morphological differences.

The many resemblances between maize and teosinte, together with the fact that the two forms interbreed with perfect freedom, makes it certain that whatever the origin of maize it must be intimately associated with teosinte or some near relative of that plant. Very little is known regarding the part played by teosinte in the economy of the natives of Mexico. It is planted by the peons of Mexico as a fodder plant, but there is nothing to show that it has ever been used as human food.

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<sup>5</sup>Parker, A. C., *Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants*. University of the State of New York, Edu. Dept. Bul. No. 482, Albany, N. Y., 1910.

The idea that maize originated from some extinct ancestor of teosinte as a result of selection operating on small variations, while more plausible than the pod corn hypothesis, seems very unlikely.

Any plant closely resembling teosinte would seem very poorly adapted to human use. The seeds are small and each seed is tightly inclosed in a horny and inedible segment of the rachis from which it can be removed only by crushing or grinding. The fragments of the rachis would be of practically the same density as the seed, and it is doubtful if the two could be separated by winnowing. Of the seeds of grasses used as human food, the nearest approach to teosinte is the seed of Coix, or Job's tears. The seeds of this plant, like those of teosinte, are inclosed in a hard covering. But in the varieties of Coix used for human food, the hardened envelope is brittle, and can easily be removed from the seed without crushing the latter. It would seem that the prototype of maize must have been at least edible in its wild and unimproved form, and this may scarcely be said of teosinte. There are hosts of wild grasses that have never been domesticated, any one of which would seem more promising material for the primitive plant breeder than teosinte.

#### HYBRID ORIGIN OF MAIZE.

To the writer it seems more reasonable to believe that the qualities adapting teosinte to the uses of man resulted from accidental hybridization with another species instead of being developed through selection from such an unpromising beginning.

The theory of a hybrid origin seems to reconcile the evidence that maize is undoubtedly closely related to teosinte with the equally clear evidence that many of the characters and tendencies of maize are entirely foreign to teosinte or the group of grasses to which it belongs. To argue this point would lead to a detailed discussion of morphology and genetics already presented elsewhere, that would be out of place.<sup>6</sup>

From studies of the comparative morphology of maize and teosinte and hybrids between these two species, it is believed that this unknown ancestor of maize must have belonged to the *Andropogoneae*, a tribe closely related to the *Maydeae*, in which maize and teosinte are placed. From the standpoint of human utilization this plant

<sup>6</sup> Collins, G. N., *Origin of Maize*, Jour. of Wash. Acad. of Sci., Vol. II, No. 21, Dec. 19, 1912.

Collins, G. N., *Structure of the Maize Ear as indicated in Zea-Euchlaena Hybrids*, Jour. of Agri. Research, Vol. XVII, No. 3, June 16, 1919.

See also Harshberger, J. W., *Maize, a Botanical and Economic Study*. Philadelphia, 1893 (cont. from Bot. Lab. Univ. of Penna., Vol. I, No. 2); Harshberger, J. W., *Fertile Crosses of Teosinte and Maize*, Garden & Forest, Vol. 9, (1896), pp. 522-523; Weatherwax, Paul, *The Evolution of Maize*, Bull. Torrey Club, Vol. 45, (1918), pp. 309-342; Kempton, J. H., *The Ancestry of Maize*, Jour. of the Wash. Acad. of Sci., Vol. IX, No. 1, Jan. 4, 1919.

must have differed from teosinte in having naked or nearly naked seeds borne on a rigid rachis. I am still hopeful that remains of this ancient food plant will be brought to light as a result of ethnological investigations.

#### FOSSIL MAIZE.

The earliest tangible evidence of the existence of maize is a fossil ear from Peru recently described by Dr. F. H. Knowlton, of the Geological Survey.<sup>7</sup> The specimen is undoubtedly an ear of maize, and Doctor Knowlton is positive that it is an undoubted fossil whose age must be measured in thousands of years.

The specimen was not found in place, and there is nothing in its history, beyond the fact that it came from Peru, to indicate where it was first discovered. The bare fact of its existence, however, is highly significant, for if Doctor Knowlton is not entirely misled regarding the age of the fossil it is perhaps the earliest record of man's existence on the American Continent. If the beginning of maize culture meant merely the growing and harvesting of a wild plant, the discovery of the fossil remains of such a plant would not call for special comment; but, as stated above, maize could hardly have existed as a wild plant in anything even remotely resembling its present form. We must, therefore, think not only of primitive Americans as cultivating maize at the time when this fossil was formed, but we must realize also that the important changes necessary to produce or domesticate maize from wild forms must have taken place in still earlier times.

The fossil specimen is so much like existing Peruvian varieties that it throws little light on the botanical origin of maize. It shows, however, that all the important steps in the domestication and improvement of maize had been taken before this specimen became fossilized, and makes what we have accomplished in 400 years look discouragingly small. Some consolation may be derived, however, from the proof, which this fossil ear affords, of the very long time during which the Indians themselves effected little or no improvement.

Next in point of time is the evidence from the prehistoric graves of Peru and Bolivia. In these graves were found ears of maize wonderfully preserved through desiccation. With the actual ears are replicas of ears wrought in clay and used to adorn ceremonial vessels. In some of these the ear is so faithfully reproduced as to lead to the belief that they must have been formed in molds in which actual ears were used as models. These specimens show no characteristics not found in existing types, and some might even be classed

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<sup>7</sup> Jour. of Wash. Acad. Sci., Vol. 9, No. 5, (Mar. 4, 1919), pp. 134-136.

as belonging to present-day Peruvian or Bolivian varieties. Yet none of the examples of prehistoric maize from South America that I have seen are approximated by existing varieties in Central America, Mexico, or the United States. The specimens, therefore, afford no evidence that maize was introduced into South America from the north. It should be noted that the most striking South American type, the large-seeded maize of Cuzco, is not represented in the prehistoric series.

Ears found in the prehistoric cliff dwellings of our Southwest are similar to the types grown in that general region. In like manner charred ears from the Indian mounds of Ohio are not unlike the varieties of soft corn grown by the Indians of the Middle West. More recently maize has been found in the cysts of the basket makers by Kidder and Guernsey<sup>8</sup> and in the pre-Pueblo remains of southern Colorado by Judd. I take it these represent the earliest evidence of maize within the borders of the United States, yet aside from their color, which is unlike anything known in North American varieties, they possess no characters that would differentiate them from varieties grown by the Papago, Zuni, and Hopi Indians. Even their yellowish brown color, which resembles that of certain Bolivian varieties, may have resulted from a disintegration of the common blue aleurone and be due to their great age. Thus all prehistoric evidence indicates that the geographic distribution of types as we now find them has obtained for a very long time.

In the intensive genetic studies to which maize has been subjected in recent years many minor abnormalities, or mutations, have come to light. One of these new Mendelian characters causes the seeds to split open or pop before the ears are harvested. We had just succeeded in isolating this character into a pure strain and were experiencing the satisfaction of having discovered something new, even though it was worthless, when through the kindness of Doctor Judd, of the Bureau of Ethnology, we were permitted to examine this series of prehistoric maize ears, which he had unearthed from the pre-Pueblo ruins of Colorado. The specimens were beautifully preserved and two of the ears were perfect examples of our new Mendelian character.

None of the human remains found in America by archeologists can show records of antiquity comparable with those of the Old World. If archeologists, however, would consider cultivated plants as artifacts they might wish to revise their findings, for the plants themselves indicate that the origin of the native food plants of America may be as ancient as those of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

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<sup>8</sup> Kidder, A. V., and Guernsey, S. J., *Archaeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona*. Bul. 65, Bureau of American Ethnology, (1919).

Before quitting the discussion of prehistoric maize, I wish to state my belief that in maize, the New World has given man the oldest cereal. This may appear as another instance of an enthusiast claiming great antiquity for his specialty, but before the claim is dismissed as altogether absurd, I wish to recall attention to some of the features that distinguish maize from the other cereals:

(1) Maize is the only cereal so profoundly modified that its wild prototype is unknown.

(2) Maize is the only cereal completely dependent on man for existence.

(3) Maize is the only cereal known in a fossilized condition.

(4) No other cereal compares with maize in the great diversity of its forms.

If the changes brought about since the time of the oldest prehistoric specimens that have yet been found are any criterion, the time necessary to develop from a common ancestor, the diversity that now exists must be measured geologically and not by centuries.

In all our wealth of highly developed maize varieties there is little that was not already represented in the Indian varieties at the time of the discovery. These in turn seem to have changed very little from the types represented in the earliest archeological and fossil remains.

If, with a base line several thousands of years in length, we fail to get a measurable parallax on the development of maize, it would appear to the biologist that the initial steps in the domestication of maize must have been made at a time more remote than that set by most anthropologists as the time of man's advent on the American Continent.

#### MAIZE AT THE TIME OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Before taking up the post-Columbian history of maize it may be well to review briefly the more striking similarities and differences of the types of maize that were being grown in the different parts of the American Continent.

The primary classification of maize proposed by Sturtevant is based entirely on seed characters. In dividing the varieties into flint, dent, pop, soft, and sweet, Sturtevant gave expression to differences already recognized by agriculturists. To this series the waxy maize of China has since been added. Sturtevant's class of tunicate or pod corn may be disregarded here since this class is not based on a seed character and is now recognized as a mutation that may appear in any of the other classes.

Many writers on maize assume that this classification, based on the texture of the seed, is fundamental and natural, with certain

ear and plant characters associated with each class. This is not true. Seed texture is no more fundamental than ear and plant characters. The shape of the seed, the number of the rows, or the habit of the plant might be used with equal propriety as a basis for arranging the varieties into types. There is, furthermore, little or no agreement in the results obtained by the use of these different criteria, and none of them give results that correspond with the geographical distribution of varieties. Flint varieties are found throughout the entire range of the species, as are eight-rowed varieties and varieties with long and slender ears. It is, therefore, futile to attempt to define the range of flint, dent, soft, or sweet varieties as such.

Certain combinations of characters, however, are peculiar to certain regions. The wide-seeded, eight-rowed, flint varieties with slender stalks and numerous suckers are practically confined to the northern and eastern parts of the United States. Varieties differing from these only by the substitution of soft for the flint type of seeds are common among the Indian tribes of the Missouri Valley and south to the Mexican border. Many-rowed, round-seeded, soft, and slightly dented varieties are common in the Southwest. Many-rowed, round-seeded, flint varieties with large culms and few suckers are found throughout the lowland Tropics. Ten and 12-rowed soft varieties with long pointed seed are characteristic of the highlands of Bolivia. Eight-rowed varieties so common in the United States are practically absent in Mexico, but appear again in the large soft-seeded Cuzco varieties of Peru.

Amid this great diversity and extreme freedom of recombinations, it is difficult to form any general views of relationship and probable migrations. But since it is becoming increasingly difficult to unravel the mixtures resulting from the interchange of seed, it may be permissible to hazard a few guesses and question some of the existing theories. It has been suggested that maize in the eastern part of the United States came from the West Indies. The varieties found in those regions afford no evidence in support of this view. The New England flints appear most closely related to the eight-rowed soft varieties of the Missouri Valley. This relationship may indicate that the New England flints were derived from the soft type of the Middle West or that the eight-rowed soft varieties have resulted from a mixing of the New England flints and the more southern soft varieties.

Neither can the West Indies be considered as a center of distribution to the west, since in passing down the Mississippi and around the Gulf to Florida and the West Indies the importance of maize decreases rather than increases, as one would expect were the West Indies to be considered as a source.

## EARLY ACCOUNTS OF MAIZE.

The first definite date in the history of maize is November 5, 1492. On this day maize was first brought to the attention of Columbus. Apparently maize had not been met with in the smaller islands or on the coast of Cuba, and was first encountered by two Spaniards sent by Columbus to the interior of Cuba to learn something of what the country produced. They left the coast on October 28 and returned on November 5. One is rather disappointed at the apparent lack of interest which this novel plant created. After mentioning a kind of root, probably cassava, and a species of beans it is remarked that some of the ground was sown with "a sort of grain they call maiz, which was well tasted, bak'd, dry'd, and made into flour."<sup>9</sup>

The earliest printed reference to maize which I have found is in the *Decades of Peter Martyr*,<sup>10</sup> said to have been first printed in 1511. The reference as it appears in Eden's translation, 1555, is as follows:

They make also an other kynde of breade of a certayne pulse called *Panicum*, muche lyke unto wheate, whereof is great plentie in the dukedome of Mylane, Spayne, and Granatum. But that of this countrey is longer by a spanne, somewhat sharpe towards the ende, and as bygge as a mannes arme in the brawne: The graynes whereof are sette in a maruelous order and are in fourme somewhat lyke a pease. While they be soure and unripe, they are white; but when they are ripe they be very blacke. When they are broken, they be whyter than snowe. This kynde of grayne, they call *Maizium*.

The accurate observation regarding the late stage at which the color of the seed develops, stamps the description as truthful, but unless the early explorers were much less muscular than has been supposed we are compelled to believe that the size of the ear was somewhat exaggerated.

To canvass the works of Columbus, and those in which he is cited as authority, for references to maize, would of itself be an undertaking of some magnitude, and it has not been attempted. Columbus refers to the plant as growing in Cuba, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, and the mainland of South America, but in view of the numerous descriptions of plants and animals given by Columbus, the significant fact would seem to be that he made such slight and infrequent reference to this plant, which must have appealed to a European as a striking novelty. It seems clear that the principal food plant in this part of the world was cassava, with maize occupying a

<sup>9</sup> Churchill's *Voyages*, Vol. 11, (London, 1732), p. 533.

<sup>10</sup> The *Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*. Written in the Latine tongue by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden. (London 1555). In Arber, Edward. *The first three English Books on America* (Birmingham 1885), p. 67.

secondary position. Thus Dr. Chanca,<sup>11</sup> who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage and who wrote from Haiti in 1494, makes no mention of maize, although the food of the natives is described in some detail.

#### MAIZE AND THE EARLY COLONISTS.

With both the Jamestown and the Plymouth colonies, starvation was averted by virtue of maize, and in both settlements the colonists learned from the natives how to grow this new food plant.

The Puritans appear to have been the more apt pupils and to have made more intimate contacts with the natives. It would also appear that the agriculture of the New England Indians was of a more advanced type than that of the Indians of Virginia. At any rate our agricultural practices seem to have been derived from New England rather than from Virginia. We are told in Mourt's Relation how the first party landing on Cape Cod under the leadership of Miles Standish found fields where maize had grown, this being in November. A little farther they found newly made mounds of earth. In one of these which they opened they found—

a little old basket, full of fair Indian corn; and digged further, and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight.<sup>12</sup>

With the maize they found a large kettle, and the eagerness with which this maize was appropriated is indicated by the following:

\* \* \* We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put any into their pockets, filled the same. The rest, we buried again; for we were so laden with armor that we could carry no more \* \* \*

After securing the first prize, they later returned for more. The same account on page 141 says:

\* \* \* This done, we marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Cornhill; and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place, which we had seen before, and digged and found more corn, viz., two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat<sup>13</sup> ears. Whilst some of us

<sup>11</sup> The Letters of Dr. Diego Alvarez Chanca. Translated by A. M. Fernandez de Ybana. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 48, part 4, (1907).

<sup>12</sup> Young, A., *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625*. (Boston, 1841), p. 133.

<sup>13</sup> The reference to "Indian wheat" doubtless applies to maize.



were digging up this some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also; so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done; for we knew not how we should find or meet with any of the Indians except it be to do us a mischief.

#### MAIZE CULTURES OF THE INDIANS.

The early colonists came well supplied with seeds of European crops, yet at both Jamestown and Plymouth they were able to become self-supporting only by promptly adopting maize and following the Indian method of cultivation, a method of cultivation radically different from anything known to the colonists.

Maize is usually thought of as differing from the principal European crops by being intertilled, but is this the most important difference? The Indians grew their crop without the aid of animals and relied on hoeing to suppress the competition of weeds. This method was practicable only with plants large enough to be given individual attention. Wheat must be treated en masse, as it were, but a maize plant may be given individual consideration. Was it not the large size of the individual plant, obviating the necessity of plowing, that really distinguished American from European agriculture? Maize, cassava, and the potato, the three great food plants contributed by America, are all grown as individual plants, while few of the important European annuals can be so treated.

It is difficult to understand how the colonists expected to produce wheat and other small grains without the aid of draft animals, yet the Plymouth colonists did not have cattle until 1624. Edward Winslow,<sup>14</sup> writing in 1621, says:

I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed; and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world.

It was Winslow himself who first introduced cattle, in 1624.<sup>15</sup>

Indian agriculture is commonly thought of as having been of a very temporary character, the tribes, except in the Southwest, being

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<sup>14</sup> Young, Alexander, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, 1841), p. 233.

<sup>15</sup> It would appear that to Bradford and Winslow we owe practically all of the detailed information regarding the early days of the Plymouth colony. The most complete account of the first landing is found in Mourt's Relation which in Young's *Chronicles* is credited to Bradford and Winslow. Certainly this part of William Bradford's history agrees very closely with Mourt's Relation, though many passages are omitted. There are, however, numerous minor changes in the language and in a few instances additions. Mourt's Relation was first published in 1622 and reprinted without omissions in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth* in 1841. Although parts of William Bradford's manuscript were used by early writers, no part of it was published, as such, until a portion found by Young in Plymouth was published in 1841. By a happy series of accidents the complete manuscript was subsequently discovered in London and published by Dean in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. III of the Fourth Series, (1856).

nomadic. The early accounts indicate, however, that nomadic tribes living by the chase were the exception rather than the rule, and that permanent agriculture existed in nearly all parts of the United States. G. F. Will, a student of maize culture among the Mandan Indians, makes the pertinent remark that Indian agriculture declined with the advent of the horse, which made the buffalo a much larger contributor of food.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike the primitive tribes of the American Tropics, who abandon a field after growing one crop, the fields in which maize was grown by the more northern tribes were used year after year. This practice had evidently continued in some localities until the fertility of the soil became impaired and the use of artificial fertilizers had been adopted.

When the first white settlers reached America they found maize being grown over practically the same range of territory as that in which it is now cultivated.

All the recognized seed types of maize, with the exception of the comparatively unimportant waxy maize recently discovered in China, were being grown by the American Indians at the time of the discovery. It may even be said that in the four and a quarter centuries during which the white race has been growing maize almost nothing has been produced that can not be duplicated among the cultures of the aborigines. The most highly developed varieties of the flint, flour, pop, and sweet types are little if any superior to individual types in native cultures, the chief advance having been toward uniformity. The dent varieties of the West and South represent the widest departure from the Indian types. No variety of maize now grown by the Indians, and not under the suspicion of having been secured from the white man, approximates the more highly developed dent varieties.

There is, however, direct evidence that the Indians of Virginia had originally a variety of maize of a pronounced dent type. In Beverley's History of Virginia four sorts of Indian corn are described, two early and two late varieties. Of the late variety he says:

The late Ripe Corn is diversify'd by the Shape of the Grain only, without any Respect to the accidental Differences in Color, some being blue, some red, some yellow, some white, and some streak'd. That therefore which makes the Distinction, is the Plumpness or Shrivelling of the Grain; the one looks as smooth and as full as the early ripe Corn, and this they call Flint-Corn; the other has a larger Grain, and looks shrivell'd, with a Dent on the Back of the Grain as if it had never come to Perfection; and this they call She-Corn.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Atkinson, Alfred, and Wilson, M. L., Corn in Montana, Mont. Agri. Exp. Sta. Bul. 107, (1915), p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> Beverley, Robert, History of Virginia, (London, 1722), pp. 126-127. I am indebted to Mr. Lyman Carrier for this reference.

This description would appear to establish the fact that true dent varieties were grown by the Indians, but since they have not been preserved it is impossible to judge of their quality or exact nature.

Although possessed of all of the seed types we now recognize, the seed types, with the exception of the sweet varieties, were not distinguished by the Indians as such. Their varietal names usually apply to more minute subdivisions, frequently referring to the color of the seed.

It is interesting to note that sweet corn, which genetic investigations indicate to be of comparatively recent origin, is the youngest of the seven corn sisters in the Zuni mythology.<sup>18</sup>

Although widely distributed among the Indians, sweet varieties seem not to have been especially prized for eating in the green state. Will and Hyde say: "The upper Missouri Indians rarely picked the true sweet corn while green, but permitted it to ripen."<sup>19</sup> The Papago Indians, who possess a rather extensive series of varieties, told me the same. Their sweet variety was considered a fine sort for making meal, but was not especially prized as green corn.

Unfortunately, the Spaniards were not such apt pupils of the Indians as were the settlers of Virginia and New England, and it is from the eastern tribes, representing only the outer fringe of aboriginal maize culture, that we have derived our varieties and agricultural practices.

Had the Spaniards made such intimate contacts with the Indians of Mexico and of the Southwest as did the Puritans with the Indians of New England, our knowledge of maize culture would have proceeded much more rapidly. In Mexico and the southwestern part of the United States maize culture was highly developed. The specialization of types adapted to different environmental conditions, discrimination in the use of varieties for food, and agricultural practices were all much more highly developed than in the East. Much of the knowledge possessed by these primitive cultivators, as well as valuable types, have doubtless been lost, and it is only in recent years that we have regained in some measure the attitude of our forefathers by realizing that the Indians' long acquaintance with maize has produced results worthy of our serious consideration.

It is a commonplace remark that maize is the gift of the Indian. But the extent to which the details of agricultural practices have been copied from the Indian has never been fully appreciated. Perhaps copied is not the right word, for in more than one instance a

<sup>18</sup> Cushing, F. H., *Zuni Breadstuff*, The Millstone, Vol. IX, No. 1, (Indianapolis, June, 1884), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Will, G. F., and Hyde, G. E., *Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri*, (Saint Louis, 1917), p. 117.

new practice has been adopted without knowing that the same ground had been traversed long before by the Indian.

From their Indian friend, Squanto, the Plymouth colonists learned among other things that they should catch fish with which to fertilize the ground. We learn from a letter written by Edwin Winslow, dated December 11, 1621, that the colonists had planted some 20 acres to maize the preceding season, all manured with fish. Regarding this use of fish, Morton says:

There is a fish, by some called shads, by some allizes, that at the spring of the year pass up the rivers to spawn in the ponds; and are taken in such multitudes in every river that hath a pond at the end, that the inhabitants dung their ground with them. You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with these fish, every acre taking a thousand of them; and an acre thus dressed will produce and yield so much corn as three acres without fish.<sup>20</sup>

The growing of maize as individual plants instead of by the European system of broadcasting or growing in rows has already been referred to. The number of seeds planted in a hill has not been changed from the practice of the Indians. The importance of regulating the number of seed in accordance with the distance between the hills and the fertility of the soil was also appreciated by the Indians.

Even the separation of the seeds in the hill that has only recently been advocated<sup>21</sup> was practiced by the Indians of Virginia, and was described in 1585 by Hariot in the following words:

\* \* \* beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker, they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines with that care they touch not one another, (about an inch asunder)<sup>22</sup>

Flint says:

The custom of hilling corn was derived from the Indians, who planted it so, and even occupied the same hills or mounds year after year successively, raising three clusters of stalks on each large hill, and scraping fresh soil upon them, so that they remain to our day. The similar cultivation now even sometimes followed is called planting in Indian Hills.<sup>23</sup>

We have since abandoned the Indian practice of hilling maize as less advantageous than flat culture. It is just possible, however, that we have to some extent missed the point. The large permanent

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<sup>20</sup> Young, Alexander, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth*, from 1602. (Boston, 1841), p. 231, footnote.

<sup>21</sup> Hartley, C. P., *A More Profitable Corn-Planting Method*, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Farmers' Bulletin* 400, May 27, 1910.

<sup>22</sup> Hariot, Thomas, *Narrative of the First English Plantations of Virginia*, (London, 1590), pp. 23-24.

<sup>23</sup> Flint, C. L., *Agriculture of Massachusetts*, (1859), p. 84, *Sixth Ann. Report*, Mass. Board of Agriculture.

hills used by the Indians would not be subject to most of the objections to the temporary hill system and may have decided advantages, especially where maize was grown without plowing.

Dr. W. E. Safford has called my attention to the Indian practice of preserving green corn by packing it in pits from which the air was excluded. Thus the silo, which is frequently pointed out as the most important advance in the utilization of maize, was definitely foreshadowed by Indian practice.

Although Indian varieties are usually much mixed there is abundant evidence that they appreciated the importance of pure cultures. Will is authority for the statement that the Mandans kept no less than 13 varieties of maize pure by means of isolated plantings.

Among the Navajo Indians there is a very distinct variety that shows through breeding experiments that it is uncontaminated by other sorts. Inquiry among the Navajos developed the fact that this variety was in the custody of one Indian, Lone Cedar Tree, who received the variety from his father. A peculiar color pattern which has recently figured in genetic literature is derived entirely from this variety and owes its preservation in a pure state to this one Indian.

In addition to the isolation of particular strains by the Indians, which in recent years at least is largely for ceremonial reasons, choice of the best appearing ears for seed was a general practice, especially among the more agricultural tribes.

The various colors exhibited in the seeds of maize and which play such an important part in the maize ceremonies of the Indians were in some tribes kept pure by assigning each of the colors to an individual who was charged with maintaining the stock by planting selected seed in isolated localities. The Indians, however, did not make the mistake committed by our early maize breeders of applying a system of close breeding. Maize is a cross-pollinated species, and rapidly deteriorates when self-pollinated. The converse of this deterioration, that is, the additional vigor obtained by crossing distinct strains, was foreshadowed in the Indian practice of deliberately planting seeds of different colors in the same hill. It is not to be understood that the Indians maintained pure strains, took advantage of the vigor that follows crossing, practiced seed selection, and performed the many agricultural practices which have since been laboriously developed by the white man, for any such reasons as are now assigned. The Indian nearly always has a reason for what he does, but it seems never to have been what we now believe to be the true reason. That he adopted so many methods and practices for

which justification has since been found should be looked upon as the result of the working of a kind of natural or unconscious selection.

As with more civilized agriculturalists, he was sometimes governed more by the logic of his theory than by practical results. Thus the Zúñi Indians went to great trouble to distribute the spores of corn smut in their fields. In thus spreading a serious disease, they were possessed by the theory that the spores of corn smut were the fertilizing agent of corn. It seems not impossible that they dimly sensed the function of pollen, and confused this with the spores of smut. On the other hand they may have been unconsciously impressed with the fact that a smutted corn plant is frequently larger and more vigorous than its disease-free neighbors.

In utilizing the great diversity of types in the preparation of different kinds of food, we are still far behind the Indians. We have but two kinds of corn meal, yellow, and white. The Indians carried the specialization much further. In Mexico especially, particular varieties are preferred for almost every dish or method of preparation.

With such a wealth of diversity it is difficult to understand why we have limited our discrimination to such an unimportant and ephemeral character as endosperm color.

The colonists who at first adopted maize to avoid starvation soon learned to prize it even in comparison with the longer-known cereals. After two or three generations, it came to be recognized as a national food, pined for by Americans forced to reside abroad. After a long residence in France, deprived of this native food, Joel Barlow was so moved by the kindness of his host in providing a dish of corn-meal mush, that he became inspired to write his epic, *The Hasty Pudding*.<sup>24</sup> Many were impelled by a missionary spirit to enlighten their cousins in the Old World regarding the virtues of this new food. Prominent in this work were Henry Coleman and Dr. John Bartlett. The latter in a letter addressed to Lord Ashburton presented the case as follows:

First. That the laboring classes and the poor of Great Britain require a cheaper article of food than wheaten bread.

Second. That although wheat contains a larger portion of gluten, or the nutritive ingredient, bulk is necessary, not only to satisfy the craving of hunger, but to promote digestion by the "stimulus of distension," which bulk alone can give.

Third. That the craving of hunger being removed or alleviated by the quantity taken, the mind is more at ease; the mental irritability consequent upon hunger is assuaged, and man goes to his labor with cheerfulness and vivacity, becoming a more peaceful citizen and perhaps a better man.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Barlow, Joel, *The Hasty Pudding*, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, (July, 1856), pp. 145-160.

<sup>25</sup> Browne, D. J., *American Institute Report*, 1846 (Albany, 1847), p. 419.

A somewhat less utilitarian appeal is made by Elihu Burritt, better known as the "learned blacksmith," who made a pedestrian tour of Europe spreading the gospel of maize. In one of his letters he says:

I have just got out "An Olive Leaf, from the Housewives of America to the Housewives of Great Britain and Ireland, or Recipes for making Various Articles of Food, of Indian Corn Meal" containing all the recipes I received before leaving home from our kind female friends in different parts of the Union—heaven bless them! I have had 2,000 of these Olive Leaves struck off, and intended in the first place, to send a copy to every newspaper in the realm. I shall have a thousand, all of which I shall put in the hands of those I meet on the road. I have resolved to make it a condition upon which only I consent to be any man's guest, that his wife shall serve up a johnny-cake for breakfast, or an Indian pudding for dinner. I was invited yesterday to a tea party which comes off to-night, where about thirty persons are to be present. I accepted the invitation with the johnny-cake clause, which was readily agreed to by all parties. So to-night the virtues of corn meal will be tested by some of the very best livers in Birmingham.<sup>26</sup>

If we may believe Thomas Carlyle, the efforts of the "learned blacksmith" were not of an intensely practical nature. Carlyle, in writing to Emerson, refers to him as follows:

Elihu Burritt had a string of recipes that went through all newspapers three years ago; but never sang there oracle of longer ears than that,—totally destitute of practical significance to any creature here.<sup>27</sup>

Carlyle had been experimenting with Indian meal, and, finding it "high uneatable," appealed to Emerson for help and for direction as to how to prepare it. Emerson rose to the occasion, and in a letter acknowledging the receipt of a shipment of corn from Emerson, Carlyle says:

Still more interesting is the barrel of genuine Corn ears,—Indian Cobs of edible grain, from the Barn of Emerson himself! It came all safe and right, according to your charitable program; without cost or trouble to us of any kind; not without curious interest and satisfaction! The recipes contained in the precedent letter, duly weighed by the competent jury of housewives (at least by my own Wife and Lady Ashburton), were judged to be of decided promise, reasonable-looking to every one of them, and now that the stuff itself is come, I am happy to assure you that it forms a new epoch for us all in the Maize department; we find the grain *sweet*, among the sweetest, with a touch even of the taste of nuts in it, and confess with contrition that properly we have never tasted Indian corn before.

It is really a small contribution towards World-History, this small act of yours and ours; there is no doubt to me, now that I taste the real grain, but all Europe will henceforth have to rely more and more upon your Western Valleys and this article. How beautiful to think of lean tough Yankee settlers,

<sup>26</sup> American Institute Report (1846), pp. 420 to 421.

<sup>27</sup> Carlyle-Emerson Correspondence, edited by Charles Elliot Norton, Vol. II (Boston, 1883), p. 170.

tough as gutta-percha, with most *occult* unsubduable fire in their belly, steering over the Western Mountains, to annihilate the jungle, and bring bacon and corn out of it for the Posterity of Adam! The Pigs in about a year eat up all the rattlesnakes for miles round; a most judicious function on the part of the Pigs. Behind the Pigs comes Jonathan with his all-conquering plowshare,—glory to him, too! Oh, if we were not a set of Cant-ridden blockheads, there is no *Myth* of Athene or Herakles equal to this *fact*:—which I suppose *will* find its real “Poets” some day or other; when once the Greek, Semitic, and multifarious other Cobwebs are swept away a little<sup>28</sup>

Time has shown that Carlyle was rather too optimistic. Europe has never learned to appreciate maize as an article of diet. Had there been successors to Burritt, Barlow, Carlyle, and Emerson, we might have avoided the crisis that arose during the war when it was necessary to resort to heroic measures to produce wheat to keep Europe from starvation, because Europe was unfamiliar with maize.

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<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., pp. 175–177.





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XIV. THE EARLIEST AMERICAN BOOK ON  
KITCHEN GARDENING.

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## THE EARLIEST AMERICAN BOOK ON KITCHEN GARDENING.<sup>1</sup>

By MARJORIE FLEMING WARNER.

In his introduction to the bibliography of American horticultural literature in the *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture*, L. H. Bailey has pointed out that the literature of gardening, as such, was very little developed in this country previous to the nineteenth century, though several gardeners' calendars, one of which is credited to the year 1752, are supposed to have been issued, mostly with local almanacs. Few of these calendars can now be identified, and very few, in all probability, are now extant, so it may never be known to what degree they have enriched the experimental knowledge of gardening in America. One of them, however, which is still in existence though chiefly known in its nineteenth-century editions, has been regarded as the earliest and possibly only original horticultural work of the eighteenth century: Robert Squibb's *The Gardener's Kalendar for South-Carolina, Georgia, and North-Carolina* (Charleston, 1787). Although in calendar form this is a work of considerable extent, and is said to have played an important part in the development of the art of gardening in the vicinity of Charleston; but beside this, and probably antedating it by at least 15 or 20 years, there is an equally important manual for the description and culture of garden vegetables. While the "Treatise on gardening, by a citizen of Virginia," as reprinted in the second edition of Gardiner and Hepburn's *American Gardener* (Georgetown, D. C., 1818), is the earliest form of the work now in existence, it has recently been shown by Alfred J. Morrison in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*<sup>2</sup> that it had previously been published at Richmond as early as 1793 or 1794, and there had apparently been yet earlier printings. The work is ascribed to John Randolph, jr. (1727-1784), the last King's attorney

<sup>1</sup> The credit for the rediscovery of the main facts in regard to authorship belongs to Mr. A. J. Morrison; my own study of the work, extending through some half dozen years, has been directed more particularly to defining the period in which it was written, its relation to other literature, and possible influence on the gardening tradition of its time.

<sup>2</sup> *A Treatise on Gardening by a Citizen of Williamsburg*. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. 25, (October, 1916), p. 138-139; also *The Gardener of Williamsburg*, Vol. 25, (January, 1917), pp. 166-167.

of Virginia, who, though a native Virginian, was one of the loyalists who went to England at the outset of the Revolution, dying there in 1784.

I have long and vainly tried to discover the date of the original issue of this book, which seems to have left no contemporary traces; but the evidence for Randolph's authorship, taken all together, is conclusive.

I. Thomas Jefferson, who was a contemporary of the attorney and on intimate terms with him, could hardly have referred to anyone else of the name when he credited the book to "John Randolph," as he did in more than one instance. In the Catalogue of the Library of the United States (Washington, 1815), which was the list arranged by himself of the books which the Government bought from Jefferson in 1814, we find on page 31 "A Treatise on gardening by John Randolph." No date is assigned, but it must have been the same copy which appears in the Library of Congress catalogue of 1840, page 129, as "Randolph, John: Treatise on gardening. 16s. Richmond, 1793." As the fire of December, 1851, destroyed the agricultural portion of the Library of Congress, this copy is of course no longer in existence. The work is likewise credited to John Randolph in the manuscript catalogue of Jefferson's library which is preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and it appears to have been highly valued by Jefferson, as he included it among titles recommended for an agricultural library, March 3, 1817<sup>3</sup>, and there was another copy, not necessarily the same edition, among Jefferson's books which were sold at auction after his death, in February, 1829, but the entry in the auctioneer's catalogue<sup>4</sup> gives no data in regard to the work, though it suggests the relation between this book and that of Gardiner and Hepburn as follows: "274. Hepburn's American Gardener; 275, Randolph's Treatise on Gardening; 276. Hepburn and Randolph."

II. In the *American Gardener* (Georgetown, 1818), page 268, there is a note by the editor, presumably Joseph Milligan, of Georgetown, who published this edition, stating that "The annexed little Treatise was written many years ago, by a learned and eminent citizen of Virginia \* \* \* who printed it for the use of his friends, by whom it has been long and highly prized for the useful information it conveys \* \* \* The residence of the author, and his garden, from which he drew his observations, were in Williamsburg, Virginia." If, as seems probable, this note was based on

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<sup>3</sup> *American Farmer*, Vol. 2, (1820), p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> A catalogue of the extensive and valuable library of the late President Jefferson \* \* \* to be sold at auction, at the Long Room, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City, by Nathaniel F. Poor. Washington, 1829.

personal knowledge, it gives strong support to the theory of Randolph's authorship.

III. A positive statement of the author's identity is made by Edmund Ruffin in the *Farmers' Register* for 1839<sup>5</sup>: "The author was John Randolph, of Williamsburg, attorney general under the colonial government." Ruffin calls it "the oldest Virginian work on cultivation, of any kind," but says that its date "is not shown by anything in the oldest edition which we have seen, which is as late as 1794." He reprints the entire work "in its original form, which was without the name of the author." Ruffin's statement carries great weight, as he was in a position to know at first hand, in 1839, many facts with regard to Virginia history and agriculture, which have been lost to memory in the four-score intervening years.

IV. The Massachusetts Horticultural Society has a copy of the *American Gardener* (1818), with the following note on page 269: "This treatise is by John Randolph, of Williamsburg, father of Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State during the administration of General Washington<sup>6</sup>." This is without date or signature, but while it is possible that it may have been written later, and perhaps based upon some other statement such as Ruffin's, the handwriting may be that of General Dearborn, in which case there is a strong probability that it is even earlier than Ruffin's, and founded upon quite as definite personal knowledge. Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn (1783-1851) was the son of Gen. Henry Dearborn (1751-1829), who was Secretary of War in Jefferson's Cabinet, and, although the father was from Maine, the son entered the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg in 1801, graduating there in 1803, and afterwards studied law in Virginia with William Wirt. His interest in agricultural matters must have begun rather early, as we find him in 1816 publishing a translation of a French work on dye plants by Lasteyrie du Saillant, and thenceforth he was continually writing, speaking, and organizing in the interests of agriculture and gardening, being one of the prime movers and the first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He was greatly interested in building up its library, and although it is not certain that the annotated copy of the *American Gardener* was his gift, it must have been the very one which was listed in the original catalogue published by him as chairman of the library committee in the *New England Farmer* in 1831. Nothing is more plausible than that the work of Randolph, perhaps in the form known to Jefferson, supposed to have been printed about 1793, may have been

<sup>5</sup> Randolph's *Treatise on Gardening*. *Farmers' Register*, Vol. 7, (January, 1839), pp. 41-54.

<sup>6</sup> *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture*, ed. by L. H. Bailey, Vol. 3, (1915), p. 1579. Sketch of David Hepburn, by Wilhelm Miller.

in use in Williamsburg while Dearborn was a student there, thus furnishing the original basis for this note, though it is also conceivable that the information may have come by way of Jefferson.

V. In 1826 the *Treatise on Gardening* was reprinted at Richmond by Collins & Co. with the title: "Randolph's Culinary Gardener, enlarged and adapted to the present state of our climate, by an experienced gardener, a native of Virginia." The latter probably refers to the numerous additions by "M.," whom I have not been able to identify, and although the book is credited to "Mr. Randolph," it gives no hint of his identity, or to the date of the original issue, save the intimation that it must have been considerably previous to 1826. This reprint was advertised in the *Richmond Enquirer*, February 16, 1826, at the price of 50 cents per copy.

Besides the proofs of Randolph's authorship, it may be well to dispose of one or two obviously impossible attributions.

I. In printing a catalogue card for Gardiner and Hepburn's *American Gardener*, the Library of Congress originally indicated an added entry for the *Treatise on Gardening* under John Taylor (1750-1824), a rather reasonable assumption, as the latter's famous "Arator" essays were first published in 1813 under the soubriquet of "A Citizen of Virginia," but quite inconsistent with the previously quoted statement of the editor, in regard to the author's residence and garden in Williamsburg, which throws out Colonel Taylor, of Caroline. In this connection, moreover, it would have been quite as natural to credit the work to another writer who posed as a "Citizen of Virginia," i. e., Filippo Mazzei, a Florentine who was actually carrying on practical experiments in agriculture near Williamsburg at about the time the *Treatise on Gardening* was written, and whose "*Recherches Historiques sur les États Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* \* \* \* par un Citoyen de Virginie" was published at Paris in 1788. However, apart from the fact that Mazzei could never have achieved the easy English of the *Treatise*, we can be sure that Jefferson, who knew both men intimately, would never have attributed his work to Randolph.

II. J. W. Randolph, the publisher and bookseller of Richmond, who had an extensive knowledge of Virginiana, on more than one occasion advertised for sale a copy of the *Culinary Gardener* of 1826 under the name of Sir John Randolph (1693-1737), the father of John Randolph, jr., but this possibility is excluded by the fact that the book contains quotations from another work which was not published before 1752.

Inasmuch as the *Treatise* is based, so far as the account of the vegetables is concerned, upon Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*, it is

most fortunate for our purposes that its author used an edition<sup>7</sup> which in many respects is different from those which preceded or followed it. Certain statements in the Virginian work have been compared with 13 editions of Miller, and while some are to be found in earlier or later issues, it is only in the sixth folio of 1752, or its abridgement, published in 1754, that we can identify them all. One point of absolute difference is the date for sowing cauliflowers, quoted from Miller as the "10th or 12th of August." So far as I can discover, every edition prior to 1752 specifies that seed should be sown on the 10th of August, while in the seventh folio, published in 1759, Miller says "about the twenty-first of August," having previously explained that he has "in this edition, altered the days to the New Style"; and we find that the alternative dates "10th or 12th" appear only in the 1752 and 1754 editions. Again we find the "Citizen of Virginia" quoting Miller in regard to the Portugal or pocket melon, which "has been called by the name of King Charles' melon, because he used to carry one in his pocket, and also Dormer's melon, because brought from Portugal by a general of that name." Neither of these names occurs in any edition of Miller before the sixth folio, and while the "Dormer melon" is again mentioned in the seventh, the other name does not appear after the fourth abridgment in 1754.

Granting then, the theory that our book was the work of John Randolph, jr., we must assume that it was written between 1752, the date of Miller's sixth folio, and 1775, when Randolph left Virginia. Certain bits of internal evidence, moreover, suggest a further limitation of this period. The "Col. Ludwell" who gave the author seed of Aleppo lettuce, must have been Philip Ludwell, of Green Spring (1716-1767), third of that name and last of the Virginia Ludwells, who died in England in 1767, but had returned thither probably as early as 1761 or 1762, so that the exchange of garden seeds, which was fresh in Randolph's mind, must have been before that date. On the other hand, the author uses the past tense throughout his description of the method of "Col. Turner of King George, who was eminent for cauliflowers," suggesting that this was probably written after that gentleman's death. The allusion is undoubtedly to Thomas Turner, who died in 1758, and who is mentioned by Washington in his diary, January 14, 1760, when on his way to Port Royal he passed "the plantation late Col<sup>o</sup> Turners." Another bit of internal evidence which furnishes material for thought is the names of garden peas in the Treatise, which differ considerably from

<sup>7</sup> Miller, Philip, *The Gardener's Dictionary*, 6th edition, London, 1752, F°. Also same, abridged from the last folio edition, by the author, 4th edition, London, 1754, 3 v., 8°.



those in Miller's Dictionary but resemble those of an advertisement of garden seeds in the Virginia Gazette in the springs of 1767 and 1768. I have examined a quantity of material, both contemporary and later publications, without finding any trace of the original edition of this book; but from the evidence submitted I venture the theory that it could hardly have been written previous to 1760 and probably not later than 1770, when Randolph, then in his early forties, would have had sufficient practical experience to test and pass upon the precepts of Philip Miller's *Gardeners' Dictionary*. We have not the slightest clue to the form of the original publication, which may either have been printed on some local press in a very limited edition for circulation among friends of the author, or possibly issued as a supplement to the Virginia Gazette. I have wondered if the abbreviation "p. f." which follows the title in the manuscript catalogue of Jefferson's library previously referred to might not have signified "pamphlet folio." This would have been appropriate if it had been printed in the Gazette, as was some other matter of economic interest, like the essays on the cultivation of the vine, by Robert Bolling, jr., which are still extant, and a paper on the fly weevil by Col. Landon Carter, of Sabine Hall, which according to his statement in a similar paper in the first volume of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, had been printed "in our gazettes," but even then, in 1768, was impossible to get hold of. It may be noted that while they regarded imported books with respect, the colonists seem to have been remarkably careless about preserving the product of their own presses; and whether as a tiny separate booklet or a large ungainly sheet, neither Carter's nor Randolph's work would have had much chance of survival; and the latter, at any rate, is not to be found in the most extensive file known—which is nevertheless far from complete—of the Virginia Gazette.

One feature of Randolph's work should be specially noted; whereas all the other early American gardening books, Squibb, McMahon, Gardiner and Hepburn, and the *Practical Gardener*, published by Fielding Lucas at Baltimore in 1819, are in the calendar form, showing what operations are to be performed "monethly throughout the year," Randolph takes up the subject from the point of view of the plants cultivated, which in the editions known to me are arranged, not under their Latin names, as in the *Gardener's Dictionary*, but in an alphabetical order of English common names, though the latter are usually followed by their Latin or Greek derivations, apparently taken direct from Miller's work.

The most important thing about the book, apart from the problem of its authorship, is that while many of the agricultural writings of that period were mere compilations from previous works, this little

volume<sup>8</sup> bears frequent testimony to the author's personal observation and experience. Randolph's reliance on Miller's Dictionary is much in evidence, but it does not prevent him from forming and expressing his individual opinion; witness his remarks (p. 67) on the "netted wrought melon," which Miller "does not esteem, though I have found them very delicious in this country." Again he says (p. 67):

There is a rough knotty melon called the Diarbekr, from a Province belonging to the Turkish Empire, in Asia which is reckoned the most exquisite of all melons, which have been brought to great perfection here, and which are not taken notice of by Miller, probably because it has been brought into England since the publication of his dictionary, unless it is the Zatta.

Unhappily I have been unable to trace the introduction of the Diarbekr melon into either English or American gardens, or to identify it with the Zatte, apparently a very old name. We often find Randolph quoting Miller in comparison with his own experience, or, for information outside the range of his personal knowledge, as (p. 76) Miller's opinion in regard to the identity of the Ciboule and Welch onion, and (p. 79) the probability that the Chives and the Shallot are not distinct species.

The difference in climate between London and Virginia is noted by him, as (p. 35):

Miller says that for spring cauliflowers the seed should be sown on the 10th or 12th of August, but in Virginia, the 12th day of September is the proper time, which is much the same as in England, allowing for the difference of climate, the ratio of which ought to be a month sooner in the spring, and the same later in the fall; our summer months being intensely hot in this place.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, Randolph observes (p. 94) that the severity of the Virginia winters is too great to permit growing radishes out of doors, as practiced by the gardeners about London.

Nor were Randolph's observations strictly limited to his own garden, as indicated by his allusion (p. 37) to the method of "Col. Turner of King George, who was eminent for cauliflowers," though it had apparently succeeded with him also. He tried the Aleppo lettuce

<sup>8</sup> The page references which follow have been made from the *Culinary Gardener* (1826), which while in some respects the least satisfactory, is the only edition in separate form; the alphabetical arrangement, moreover, makes it easy to identify any reference either in Gardiner and Hepburn's *American Gardener* (1818), or in the *Farmers' Register* Vol. 7, (1839), pp. 41-54.

<sup>9</sup> Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, says that Williamsburg is in the hottest part of the State. The interest shown by the early Virginians in meteorological conditions is quite remarkable, and some of the available data must be important. For the vicinity of Williamsburg there are not only observations made by Jefferson during the years 1772-1775, but there is a calendar of the weather for the year 1759, made by Lieut. Gov. Francis Fauquier (1704-1768), which is appended to Andrew Burnaby's *Travels Through the Middle Settlements of North America* (London, 1775).

which Colonel Ludwell had given him (p. 66), "but it did not please me so well as the other more common sorts." Under the turnip, of which he quaintly remarks that it "will not apple kindly"<sup>10</sup> after the middle of August, he states (p. 106) that "Lord Townsend (sic) sowed an acre in drills and worked it with the plough," etc., referring to "Turnip" Townshend (Charles, second Viscount Townshend, 1674-1738), who, on his retirement from political life in 1730, experimented with the cultivation of turnips on a large scale at his estate of Raynham, in Norfolk. Though the source of his information on Townshend's experiments was undoubtedly *Miller's Dictionary*, it seems that Randolph's reading was not entirely confined to that work, as he quotes (p. 18) Bradley's opinion that an asparagus bed, if properly managed, ought to last for 20 years<sup>11</sup> as compared with Miller's, that it should be good for 10 or 12.

Randolph in general throws little light on the varieties of vegetables in use in his time, but under peas (pp. 83-85) he mentions several of the old names, "Charlton Hotspur, Reading Hotspur, and Master Hotspur" (all given in *Miller's Dictionary*)—which he says are "very little differing from one another"—the "Rouncivals, the Spanish Marollo Peas and the Marrow Fat, or Dutch Admiral"; while farther on he states that "the Ormonds are the Hotspur." One can not but wonder if he bought his garden seeds from "William Wills, Chirurgeon in Richmond Town, and John Donlevy in Petersburg," who advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* of March 26 and April 2, 1767: "Fresh imported from London and Bristol \* \* \* Pease: Golden Hotspur, Early Charlton, Early Ormond, Marrowfat, Sugar Blues, Blue Rounceval, Dutch Admiral, Nonpareil do., Spanish Morattoes, Large Saletine." The next year their advertisement in the *Gazettes* of March 10 and 17, 1768, was varied chiefly in its spelling: "Early Golden Hotspur, Early Charlton, Ormeret Hotspur, Large Blue and White Rouncevals, Spanish Morotoes, Large Marrowfats, Nonpareils, Bunch, Sugar Blues, Dutch Admirals, Salatine," etc.

Mr. Morrison found this little book lacking in local color, which is of course due to its thoroughly practical, not to say prosaic, character, which leaves little room for "atmosphere" or those bits of local history dear to the heart of the antiquarian; it aimed to be, and succeeded as a practical manual of vegetable gardening for the author's

<sup>10</sup> This use of the term "apple," meaning to fill out, is used with reference to the turnip by Miller and other writers of the period.

<sup>11</sup> Bradley, Richard, *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening*, [1st ed.] Vol. 3, (London, 1718), p. 144. Same in 6th edition, (London, 1731), p. 292.

own locality and period, but leaves us entirely ignorant of his personality.

It is practically impossible, moreover, to reconstruct anything of that personality from other sources. Those who have attempted it, like Conway and Miss Katherine Wormeley, Randolph's great-granddaughter, who cherished a few family traditions, have only succeeded in presenting generalities, while the actual documents relate only to his legal or political career, his activities (most obnoxious to many of his countrymen) in connection with the "writs of assistance," and his opposition to Patrick Henry's resolutions on the stamp act, or occasionally an opinion on a land title or other legal matter. Wirt in his *Life of Patrick Henry* stresses the idea that Randolph was the most brilliant lawyer of Virginia in his time, undoubtedly with the object of throwing into high relief the peculiar genius of Henry, who in many respects excelled him. Then one finds a few records indicating the conspicuous position of Randolph and his family in Virginia society, as when Col. Landon Carter, of Sabine Hall, notes in his diary (Nov. 21, 1770), that "Col. John Randolph & his Lady & daughters dined here on Monday," or Washington's diary (Aug. 4, 1774) records during a stay in Williamsburg: "Dined at the Attorney's & spent the evening at my own Lodgings." The actual records of John Randolph's life are meager. The son of Sir John Randolph, who is said to have been the only native American ever knighted, he was born in Williamsburg in 1727 (according to some in 1728). He was graduated from the College of William and Mary, and went to England to study law, being admitted to Middle Temple April 18, 1745, and called to the bar February 9, 1749. He returned to Williamsburg to practice, and, like his father, Sir John, and his son Edmund, who was Attorney General in Washington's administration, he was an able lawyer, and in 1766 was appointed to the post of King's attorney for Virginia, which had been held by his father and his elder brother Peyton. Unlike that brother, who was a conspicuous patriot, John Randolph was a staunch loyalist, and leaving Virginia in August of 1775, took his wife and daughters to England, where he spent the remainder of his life in poverty and obscurity. He died in Brompton January 31, 1784, but his wish to be buried in his native Virginia was fulfilled and his remains were brought back and placed beside those of his father and brother Peyton beneath the college chapel of William and Mary. His daughter Ariana, who performed this filial service, was the wife of James Wormeley, also a Virginia loyalist, a descendant of Ralph Wormeley, of Rosegill; and their son Ralph Randolph Wormeley afterwards became a Rear Admiral in the Royal Navy.

History is silent as to John Randolph's interest in gardening or his work as an author,<sup>12</sup> although he is mentioned as a man of literary tastes; and it is somewhere stated that he inherited the fine library collected by his father, to which he probably made large additions. A number of his books came into the hands of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, and there is good reason to suppose that a list<sup>13</sup> of about 300 works in some 670 volumes, which was advertised for sale in the *Virginia Gazette* of November 25, the very day on which the effects of the attorney general were to be sold at auction by his trustees,<sup>14</sup> must have been part of his library. While this list includes Miller's *Gardeners' Kalendar* and Bradley on Husbandry and Gardening, it does not comprise any edition of Miller's *Dictionary*, which may, however, have passed already into the hands of others; there seems to be no evidence that Jefferson ever owned a copy of this work. Even though the original issue of the little book which John Randolph is said to have "printed for the use of his friends" may never come to light, there remains the thrilling possibility that some newly discovered copy of the *Gardeners' Dictionary* may sometime reveal the original observations which he made upon his Williamsburg garden a century and a half ago.

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<sup>12</sup> He is also credited with the authorship of two other books, no more definitely if as well proven as that of the *Treatise on Gardening*. One is the *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia*, a rare political tract printed in 1774, and reprinted in 1919 with notes by E. G. Swem, as one of C. F. Heartman's *Historical Series*; while the other is the famous *Letters from General Washington to Several of His Friends in the Year 1776* (London, J. Bew, 1777), which has been many times reprinted; and there is a specially good edition in 1889, with a full bibliography and discussion of the authorship by W. C. Ford. I have examined both works with more or less care, but fail to find any evidences of a common literary style.

<sup>13</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, No. 1268, Nov. 25, 1775; reprinted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. 15, (October, 1906), pp. 101-113.

<sup>14</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, No. 1268, Nov. 11, 1775.

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XV. AN EARLY AGRICULTURAL PERIODICAL.

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By MARY G. LACY,  
*Librarian, Bureau of Markets,  
United States Department of Agriculture.*

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## AN EARLY AGRICULTURAL PERIODICAL.

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By MARY G. LACY.

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The *Annals of Agriculture*, edited by that sagacious observer, Arthur Young, is doubtless thought of by many people as the first appearance of agriculture in the field of English periodicals. In the preface to volume one of the annals, however, the editor says:

The idea of a periodical publication as a general channel for information relative to Agriculture, is at least a century old. Houghton, in King James the Second's reign, published a paper for this purpose twice a week, and continued it with little interruption to the beginning of Queen Anne's.

This statement from so eminent a writer as Arthur Young induced a careful examination of Mr. Houghton's husbandry and trade—an examination yielding delight upon every page, from the preface by Richard Bradley, the well-known professor of botany in the University of Cambridge, to the "Epitome of the 19 volumes. A farewell," with which the work closed.

This modest little periodical, issued twice a week during a part of its career and once a week for the remainder, was "esteemed as valuable as choice manuscripts" in 1727, when the scarcity of these papers and the reputation which they had gained made it advisable to republish them. Richard Bradley collected a set of the single papers of which he said that there were probably "not in all our English libraries ten complete sets" and was instrumental in having them reprinted in book form. In 1728 there was a second reprinting, without change. Richard Bradley's preface to the second printing of this pioneer among agricultural periodicals is entitled "An introductory discourse to Mr. Houghton's Husbandry." It provides eight pages of sound agricultural doctrine as well as delightful reading. After a few pages devoted to advice as to fertilizers, the advantage of draining wet fields, and directions as to the best methods of doing so, the author says:

But it is not only by rich manure or labour that an estate may be enriched; it may be done another way, viz, by examining the soil and its depth in every field; and likewise by having a due regard to the situation; and then to assort



to every soil such sorts of plants as are naturally the produce of such soils, or will best thrive upon them. But this has been constantly overlooked by our English farmers, who generally imagine that ground is not good unless it will produce good corn or good grass; but give me leave to expostulate with them a little. Have we not grains and plants enough that will turn to as good profit as corn or grass, and much more, too?

And a page further :

And then again, if lands are dry, there are plants, which one can cultivate on them, which will turn to good account; as for instance some of the French grasses, which our author [Houghton] gives many instructions about; but the best of them all is the Lucern which one may cut three or four times a year, and will last a long time; so that there is no ground however poor or unprofitable it may be thought to be but will produce something beneficial to the farmer with no more than common trouble. \* \* \* Nor can I find it necessary to let any land lie fallow, since I have observance that every different plant draws a different nourishment; then by shifting the sorts one may have a continued succession of crops without exhausting the strength of the soil, or losing of time. \* \* \*

From this able presentation of the theory of rotation of crops, Bradley passes on to a statement recognizing the relation of markets to the value of crops and of land.

But there is one thing more which ought to be considered in the improvement of land; and that is, to judge what will be most acceptable at the neighbouring markets; or what convenience of carriage there may be had for things of the greatest burden. For tho' we may have good crops that would be valuable at one place, they may not have worth at another; or, if they will fetch the same price in every market, yet the difficulty in carriage to one place more than another, will make an alteration in the farmer's profit, as may be very easily calculated; and then it appears that two pieces of ground in different places that are equally good, and bring crops of the same goodness, yet if the markets do not equally demand them, one piece is worse than another.

This "Introductory discourse to Mr. Houghton's Husbandry, by R. Bradley" is placed in the front of what we are led by the binder's title to consider volume one of the "Collection for improvement of Husbandry and Trade." The date of the first paper in this volume is March 30, 1692, whereas the first paper in volume 4, according to the binder, is dated September 8, 1681. The heading or title of this issue of September 8, 1681 is "A collection of letters for the improvement of Husbandry and Trade," the date of the latest communication in the volume being November 14, 1683. It appears probable, therefore, that these "letters" dating from 1681-1683 are the forerunners of the regular issue of the "collection" which began in 1692 and ran through September 24, 1703. That nine-year gap between the two series presents an interesting field of study for the bibliophile. We will not attempt to enter it here, however, but will confine ourselves to the actual contents of the reprinted volumes as they have come down to us.

In the earliest, or "letters" volume, 1681-1683, there is an interesting opening statement by John Houghton himself which he calls a "Preface by way of a letter to J. B. D. D., S. R. S." in which he speaks of the revival of the "committee for agriculture" of the Royal Society of which he had the "honour to be a member" and states that his design is to—

\* \* \* publish such papers as shall cause his kingdom to be so well husbandry'd as to exceed not only the United Provinces but also what on another occasion you were pleased to stile the garden of the world, Barbadoes. And feeling what the husbandman is concerned for, is the *materia prima* of all trade, and that the finding of a vent for his commodities is as necessary to his end, as it is to know the ways of tilling, planting, sowing, etc. \* \* \* therefore I design not only to give instructions for that end, but also the best accounts I can meet with, how they [fruits, corn, grain, pulse, etc.] may be advantageously parted with which will necessitate me often to treat of such things as more strictly come under the second head of my title, viz. trade."

On the succeeding page there is the following:

A catalogue of the books in the library of the Royal Society, relating to agriculture.

WORTHY SIR, It will I think by all be granted that the art of *agriculture* hath not been a little improved by the use of books, and more it may, were it well known what are written of the subject: at present I will give you a list of what I find in the catalogue of our library, and hereafter of what I meet with elsewhere.

Adriana (Presbyter) Carmina de Venatione.  
 Apitius Gaelius de re Coquinaria. lib. X.  
 Aristotelis Historia Animalium.  
 Baptiste Jo. Ferrarii de florum Cultura.  
 Di Bonardo Richezze del'Agricoltura.  
 Cato (M.) de re Rustica.  
 Columella (L) de Cultu Hortorum Carmine Script.  
 Di Crescentio (Pietro) Agricoltura.  
 Forest Laws, by Jo. Manwood.  
 Herbarium Ling. Germ.  
 Hortorum Cultura, per Lucium (Jun.) Columellan.  
 Macer (Philoseph.) de natr. & virtut. Herbar.  
 More (Sir Tho.) Utopia.  
 Oppiana de Ventione piscium.  
 De Ro. Piscibus.  
 De Animal. Industria (per Sym. Grynaeum)  
 Di Tatti (Giov.) Agricoltura.  
 Terentius M. Varro Agricultura.  
 Tobae Aldimi descripto Planter in Horto Farnesiano.  
 Herbarium (Antiq.) Anglice scriptum. M. S.  
 Junii Mod. Columel. rei rustic M. S.  
 Herbarum nomina & Vires (Carm. Hexametro) M. S.  
 Johannis de loco Frumentario pars secunda. M. S.  
 Evelyn (Jo.) Sylva.  
 Bacon (Sr. Fr.) Sylva Sylvarium.  
 Evelyn (Jo.) of Gardens.  
 Cotton (Ch.) Planters Manual.

Evelyn (Jo.) Philosophical Discourse of Earth.

Hughes (Will.) Complete Vineyard.

Icones and descriptiones	{	Sicillae	per Paul. Boccon.
Plantarium		Melitae	
		Galliae &	
		Italiae	

M. Malpighius de Bombyce.

Johnson de Animalibus.

Christoph. Merret Pinax verum Nat. Britannicar.

Anatomy of Vegetables, by N. Grew M. D.

Two Herbals.

These are what I have chiefly taken notice of; the author adds naively, It is possible among so many books (upwards of three thousand) I may have overlooked some, but I think none that are material.

It is obviously impossible within the bounds of a single paper to fully analyze the contents of these four remarkable volumes. We can only hope like a good showman to point out some of the most enticing of the contents so that the reader's curiosity may be whetted to examine for himself what must, for lack of space, remain undisplayed.

Dr. Robert Plot, Oxford professor of chemistry, secretary of the Royal Society, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and author of the Natural History of Oxfordshire, was a frequent contributor and was always interesting. In a contribution dated November 24, 1681, he deplores the lack of interest shown by one locality in the crops or practices of another and adds:

Much less are the grains of one county known in another, witness the sort of wheat called red-stalked wheat, sown plentifully about Oxford, which though endued with the excellent quality of seldom or never smutting, a conveniency which best pleases the chapman of any, yet either hath not been heard of, or is wholly neglected in most other counties. Nor less ignorant is the husbandman of long-cone wheat, notwithstanding its not being subject to lodging or being eaten by birds, and its constant freedom from that epidemical (I had almost said also incurable) disease of corn, commonly called the mildew, three inconveniences sometimes so fatal that by one, two or all of them he loses his crop; whereas, had he known these grains and would have taken the pains to procure, and have used them, how free might he have been from all of these inconveniences, wherever his grounds had been liable to them.

There follow similar observations about a little-known barley that has—

Many times been sown and returned to the barn again in two months' time \* \* \* whence it plainly appears that could you make yourself the happy instrument of communicating such notices as these to all the parishes in England and so effectually as to get them put in practice, for that is the greatest work (though one would think indeed men should make but weak oppositions against their own emoluments) you would (for ought I know) deserve as much of the publick as the founder of Christ's-hospital, and all its benefactors, and receive the acclamations and applauses of all great men as the result of so great an achievement.

The same spirit of wonder at the failure of husbandmen to profit by the experience of others is voiced by Adam Martindale, of Cheshire, in a letter dated May 18, 1682, about improving land by marl. He says in part:

I labour under great discouragements, in reference to that little which I know, from the conceited surley humours of people that will not be beaten out of their old roads, by the most powerful discourses bottomed upon reason, and backed by the experience of wise and faithful persons. To what else can it be ascribed, that the speaking trumpet (so notably fitted for the criers in great courts, and proclaimers of things in tumultuous markets) should find little more entertainment than to be ridiculed in plays? Or (to come nearer the matter) what else can be the reason why the great advantage got by our neighbours in Staffordshire or Worcestershire by sowing of clover, can scarce prevail with any of us in Cheshire or our neighbors in Lancashire, to sow an handful upon the very same sort of land? Nor the vast incomes by marling land in Lancashire and Cheshire, tempt our neighbors of other counties before mentioned, to make a little search for that great natural improver marle.

After a full, though conservative statement as to the sorts of land likely to be improved by the application of marl, the writer proceeds to tell of the profits that may accrue from its use and adds:

I wonder that the gentlemen of Staffordshire of our intimate acquaintance, that have so much land fit, (of mine own knowledge) for this purpose, should so far neglect their own advantage as not to send for skilful searchers for marle out of our county, which if succeeding, would be incomparably above their liming for durableness, and perhaps in some places far less costly. I am confident that I saw marle there at a brook side, and little doubt, but by search of skilful persons, a good quantity might be found; but how much, how good, or how conveniently it lies, cannot be resolved without search, neither there nor here. He that will not run such a poor hazard as that, is not worthy of so much gain.

There are other contributions from Mr. Martindale, of Cheshire, in this same volume on the manner of getting the marl out, the different kinds of it, the kind of lands which usually abound in it, the method of using it, etc.

John Evelyn, in his day a recognized authority on landscape gardening and best known to us as the author of *Sylva* and *Pomona*, appears often; sometimes as a contributor and sometimes as the author of a work under discussion. Under date of January 16, 1682, he makes a nine-page contribution entitled—

An account of bread from the learned John Evelyn, Esq.; entitled *Panificium* or the several manners of making Bread in France where by universal consent the best bread in the world is eaten.

This article contains a number of recipes for bread and numerous sage observations, such as:

The whiter the flower, the less goodness in taste.

Some make bread (as about Rouen in Normandy) without at all sifting the bran, as it comes from the mill; this at first eating seems to be rough and harsh, but by custom it is both pleasant, and wholesome and very strengthening.

This Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, as the 1681-83 volume is called, contains many observations and contributions which indicate that the author interpreted "husbandry and trade" very broadly. A few of these we will mention by title.

An essay to prove that it is better to have Ireland rich and prosperous than poor and thin.

Some considerations upon the proposals approved on by the city of London for subscriptions upon lives wherein are some observations and conjectures upon the East-Indian Company and bankers.

This last is a life-insurance scheme with the death probabilities carefully worked out by 10-year periods. This volume also contains lists of goods imported and exported with quantities and dates; also the number of outgoing and incoming ships with destination and port of departure carefully given.

There is an account of a new method of plowing with careful drawings so that the "wayfaring man though a fool, can not err therein." There are "Directions in the making of colonies for Bees, by a new invented model of Hive, to improve them, whereby without killing may be enjoyed the fruit of their labour."

This entire volume four of "letters," 1681-1683, can not, however, be considered in the accurate meaning of the term a periodical, as the communications were issued irregularly and without apparent plan. The three volumes which are introduced by the Bradley preface, however, can unquestionably be considered a periodical. They began on Wednesday, March 30, 1692, and were issued once a week on Wednesdays through the rest of the year. There was issued also, beginning Saturday, April 30, a paper each Saturday, extracted from the customhouse bills, which gave the name and quantity of goods imported and exported "in order that trade may be better understood and the whole Kingdom made one trading city." These Saturday papers were numbered consecutively with the Wednesday papers, so that through June 25, 1692, Husbandry and Trade Improved was issued twice a week. Occasionally more than one number was published on the date of issue. Thus, Nos. 19 and 21 each is dated June 11, 1692. No. 23 is dated June 25, 1692; and No. 24, January 20, 1693. The author explains this hiatus as being the result of pecuniary difficulties; "but now having a contribution of a guinea a year from some gentlemen and expecting it from more, I go on, and shall sell them for a penny each." Houghton does not give the names of the "gentlemen" who believed enough in the value of his undertaking to give him a guinea apiece, but we can guess them pretty well from the signatures to the "testification" dated November 11,

1691, which was included in the first issue of the modest little periodical. It was as follows:

NOVEMBER 11, 1691.

*These are to testify our knowledge of the approved abilities and industry of Mr. JOHN HOUGHTON, citizen of LONDON, and fellow of the ROYAL SOCIETY there, in the discovery and collection of matters worthy observation, and more particularly such as relate to the improvement of HUSBANDRY and TRADE. Towards his furtherance wherein, and in his laudable inclination already experienc'd, and now further design'd, to the communicating the effects thereof to the publick; we do hereby most willingly give him this testimony of our knowledge and esteem, in order to the recommending him to the notice, assistance, and encouragement of all gentlemen and others, desirous of promoting the endeavours of a person so qualify'd and dispos'd to the service of his country.*

Robert Southwell.  
Thomas Meres.  
John Hopkins.  
Peter Pett.  
Anthony Deane.  
John Evelyn.  
Thomas Henshaw.  
Abraham Hill.  
Samuel Pepys.  
John Creed.  
Thomas Gale.  
John Scott.  
Robert Plot.  
Daniel Coxe.

Nehemiah Grew.  
Edward Tyson.  
Frederick Slare.  
Robert Pitt.  
Hans Sloane.  
Hugh Chamberlen.  
William Hewer.  
Henry Whistler.  
Alexander Pittfield.  
Richard Waller.  
Edward Haynes.  
Thomas Langham.  
Francis Lodwick.  
Edmund Hally.

These things, consider'd, such like may be expected, at least once a week, from

England's hearty well-wisher,  
JOHN HOUGHTON, F. R. S.  
WEDNESDAY.

It is very significant of their breadth of vision that such men as Samuel Pepys, the brilliant diarist; Edmund Halley, the astronomer, at that time secretary of the Royal Society; Hans Sloane, founder of the Botanic Garden, whose collections formed the nucleus of the British Museum—that such men as these should recognize the fundamental importance of agriculture to England's best interests.

The list contains the names of various officers of the Royal Society, John Hopkins, at one time its president; Abraham Hill, treasurer; Robert Plot, Edmund Halley, and Nehemiah Grew, secretaries.

Varied interests also are represented. Anthony Deane was a ship-builder and a great friend of Pepys; Thomas Henshaw was a charter member of the Royal Society, and a scholar, having written a history of China; John Creed was deputy treasurer of the Fleet, Thomas

Gale was dean of York and a biblical scholar of note; John Scott was probably the canon of St. Pauls, although, as there were several John Scotts living, one can not be sure which one he was; Daniel Coxe, Hugh Chamberlen, Robert Pitt, Frederick Slare, and Edward Tyson were physicians, the latter having written several monographs on animals. Nehemiah Grew was a vegetable physiologist, and by some considered the first observer of sex in plants. His work was recognized by Linnaeus who named a genus after him. Edmund Halley, besides being an astronomer, is thought to have originated by his suggestion Newton's *Principia*, which he introduced to the Royal Society.

The papers abound in sage observations as well as sound doctrine on agricultural matters, as, for instance, when Houghton remarks at the end of a comprehensive argument on the advantage of inclosures over commons: "The ground is never weary of doing good, if well fed and well worked."

Houghton's observations on the potato are especially interesting as the field cultivation of the plant began about the time Houghton wrote, or from 1680 to 1690. He said in number 386, December 15, 1699:

"*Potatoe* is a *bacciferous* herb, with *esculent* roots, bearing winged leaves and a *bell* flower.

This I have been inform'd was brought first out of *Virginia* by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and he stopping at *Ireland*, some was planted there, where it thrived very well to good purpose; for in their succeeding wars, when all the corn above-ground was destroyed, this supported them; for the soldiers, unless they had dug up all the ground where they grew, and almost sifted it, could not extirpate them; from thence they were brought to *Lancashire*, where they are very numerous and now they begin to spread all the kingdom over.

They are a pleasant food boill'd or roasted, and eaten with butter and sugar.

There is a sort brought from *Spain* that are of a longer form, and are more luscious, than ours; they are much set by, and are sold for six pence or eight pence the pound.

Whether these differ more than what is caused by the different soils they grow in, I know not.

They are easily increased by cutting the root in several pieces; for each piece will grow. They require a good fat garden mold, but will grow tolerably in any. Surely in some places it may be worth while to plant abundance, if it were only to feed their cattle and poultry. I believe the more husbandries we have the better."

It is utterly impossible, however, to give an accurate idea of the mingled quaintness and sagacity of these papers without an undue amount of quotation, and it seems best to reproduce Houghton's "Epitome of the 19 volumes.<sup>1</sup> A farewell," with which he brings

<sup>1</sup> Houghton refers to his work by volume numbers but the separate issues have consecutive numbers only.

the work to a close, rather than to make quotations at random. This "epitome" is dated September 24, 1703, and gives a very fair summary of the contents of the volumes, but with the exception of the last three paragraphs, lacks entirely the zest and vigor of the papers themselves. It is as follows:

In my first volume is the nature of *earth, water, air and fire*, with their effects and reasons for many of their operations: In my second, *natural history*, with the *taxes, acres, houses*, etc. in each county of *England and Wales*, with notes particularly of *Yorkshire and Derbyshire*: In my third the doctrine of *fermentation*, history of *cyder and clay*: In my fourth, a continuation of *clay*, and all its uses I could learn, with the history of *wheat*: In my fifth, the history of *joint-stocks and kine*: In my sixth, I went on about *kine*, showing the use and manufacture of most parts, the doctrine of *nutrition, circulation* of the blood, with reasons of its ascent, and manner of growing of *bones* and other parts: In my seventh, I have carried on the history of *kine* in discourses upon *blood, butter, cheese, cows, cream, dung, milk, urine, whey*, and other particulars: In my eighth, is an account of the ships that came from abroad to *London* from *new year's day*, 1694 to the same day 1695, with the number from each prince's territories, and of all the goods imported that year, mentioned in the bills of entry, with the quantities from each place, and all together.

Upon these I have made some notes *natural* and *political*, as the advantages of a *coalition* with *Scotland*, the true case of *free-trade, a regulated company* and a *joint-stock* with an easy and certain method for mending the roads, etc. In my ninth, are histories of imported *stones, glass, salt*, and a farther account of roads: In my tenth, a farther account of *salt*, the history of *nitre, gunpowder, profits* of the *Indian trade*, history of *vitriol, copperas, brimstone, oker, jett* and *coal*: In my eleventh, are the farther histories of *coal*, also of *arsenick, lapis, haematites* and the 7 metals, with a description of all things I could learn were made from them, with some discourses about *air, alkali, colours, exchange, fire*, the manner of fluxing with *mercury, money, poison, trade, pumps, and wood*. In my twelfth, I have given a division of plants, the history of *mushrooms, wheat, rye, barley, oats, canes, and sugar*, with all the historical and political notes relating to them I could think proper; as the *quantum* of *beer* and *ale* that paid excise in divers years, the quantity of malt brought from *Ware* by water in a year, with a discourse about navigable rivers, and making them so: the difference about water and land carriage, with the quantities of *sugar* and other things imported. In my thirteenth, I have given the history of *saffron, onions, tuberoses, asarum, ros solis, gentian, aloe*, with the manner of embalming and managing the dead in many countries; the history of *kelp, madder, spurry, rhabarb, buckwheat, hemp, and flax*: As also the history of *linen, thread, tape, lace, twine, dying, printing, maps, pictures, oil-cloth, buckrams, pasteboard, playing-cards, rags, paper-hangings*, the *printer's office* with the life of *Bleau*, &c. In my fourteenth, is the history of *hops, weld or wood, annise, turnips, carrots, parsnips, caraway-seeds, pellitory* of *Spain, polymountain, dittany, teasel, coloquintida, scammony, tobacco, birthwort, potato*, and the *vine*; with a proposal how to enrich *England* and employ the poor. In my fifteenth, is the history of *jessamine, capers, pomgranates, oranges, lemons, plumbs, prunellos, prunes, olives*, with a proposal to preserve health in hot plantations; also of the *turpentine and fir-tree, mastich, clove, nutmeg cinnamon, bey, yew, holly, juniper, sassafras, walnut, almond, hazel, chestnut, beach, cacao* or *chocolate*, and *coffee*. In my sixteenth, is the history of *cotton* and the



*oak*, and all things I could think useful to say of it; particularly demonstrative arguments for the destruction of *wood* and the proposal how we shall never want naval stores. In my seventeenth, is the history of *alder*, *cedar*, *cypress*, *elm*, *ash*, *maple*, *birch*, *aspen*, *poplar*, *abele*, *willow*, *lime-tree*, and *guaiacum* or *lignum vitæ*. In my eighteenth, is a history of *bees*, *silkworms*, *oysters*, *fish*, as *whales*, *sturgeon*, *codfish*, *mackerel*, *herrings*, *sprats*, *pilchards*, *anchoveys*, *turbets*, *salmons*: Also an account of the *fishing-trade*, with proposals how to improve it both at home and abroad. In my nineteenth, is a history of *birds*, viz. *eagles*, *hawks* and *falconry*, *woodcocks*, with a conjecture how birds fly over sea. The *estrich*, with the manner of taking fowl in the *Islands* of *Feroe*, *Hirta*, and *Stacka Donna*, with the strange and difficult manner of climbing rocks by those inhabitants: and having also gone thro' the principal histories of the *mineral*, *vegetable* and *animal* kingdoms, except *beasts*, of which I have only given the history of *kine*, but that I have done very largely, and designed to have carried on this twentieth volume with the histories of the *horse*, *sheep*, *goat*, *stag*, *hog*, *coney*, *castor*, *dog*, &c and then have given over.

But truly, since (beside my trade as an *apothecary*, wherein I have always been and still am diligent) I have fallen to the selling of *coffee*, *tea* and *chocolate* in some considerable degree, I cannot without great Inconvenience to my private affairs, which must not be neglected, spare time to carry on this history so well as I would do; and besides considering what the antients have done in this affair, as also the moderns, viz. Mr. *Ray*, *Blundevill*, *Markam*, *Solleysel*, in his *Compleate Horseman*, and divers others, I refer it to some that has more leisure and skill; altho' I have endeavoured to make it the best account of *trade* upon the best and most sure foot that ever has yet been published, and I could hear of. And all this I have done for the benefit of my country; not doubting but if those in authority will consider, and apply what I have writ for *England's* advantage, It may quickly be made the richest and happiest nation the sun sees.

But if these things are not, or will not be understood, I'll no ways fret myself, well knowing that I fare as well as a great many *persons*, whose *charms* are not heard, tho' they *charm* ever so wisely.

I most humbly and heartily thank all sorts of my assistants, and shall testify my respects to them whenever I have opportunity; and I must particularly say, for a great many of the *Royal Society*, that they have been genteel, kind, and ready to *communicate* most knowledges I have asked them, in their power; without which, I own, I could not have carried on a great deal of what I have written.

Thus I take leave of these papers, wishing that *knowledge* may cover the *earth* as the *water* covers the *sea*, which is the hearty prayer of the World's well wisher,

JOHN HOUGHTON, F. R. S.

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